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HAROLD G. ARON

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A Brief for the Present Right of Man to Attain through Justice His Own True and Substantial Happiness

By

HAROLD G. ARON

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TO MY MOTHER

THAT STALWART AULD SCOT

BORN MARIA BEATRICE GUTHRIE

FOREWORD

This little volume intrudes its way into a disappointed, heart-broken world of men and women, doubtful of themselves and uncertain of the future.

Such is neither the reason nor excuse for its publication. It has been in contemplation thirty years; its publication at this time was determined upon many years ago and has, therefore, no relation to the present unhappy state of mankind. Its completion necessarily involved reference to the existing situation of Western civilization, which has at many points, unfortunately, confirmed previous speculative analysis of the causes of the recurrent distress and unhappiness of the majority of humanity.

If the work appears timely, it is due to causes beyond the author's control. Nor is the work any more personal than a lawyer's brief. It is based upon observations of an active life, which has ranged from close to the hard facts of deprivation and adversity to somewhere near an approach to achievement and success.

Its conclusions are right or wrong, as the question is answered, in these trying times out of the history of civilization: Have the average man and woman within them, the fundamental decency and natural honor, under just conditions, and with just rewards to deal fairly with each other, to live wholesomely and to work conscientiously for "the advancement of the public good and the glory of Almighty God?"

HAROLD G. ARON

EAST RIVER, CONN.
MAY, 1932

INTRODUCTION

Christ's purpose was avowed in the words: to take away the *sin* of the world but the noun does not imply vice; it is the Greek word *amartian,* meaning the missing of the mark.

Justinian in his Institutes, five hundred years later wrote: the precepts of the law are these, to live honestly, to harm no one, and to render to each his own.

Blackstone in his commentaries, twelve hundred years later, affirmed as the basis of law, that the chief end of man was to seek his own true and substantial happiness.

The proposition which this volume seeks to establish is, that the *regent masses* of humanity from the beginning of civilization have missed the mark of their own true and substantial happiness, because of their unwillingness and failure to live honestly with themselves and deal fairly with their fellow men.

At the outset, it is necessary to state the obvious and, therefore, the unnoticed fact, that the life of every adult human being divides itself into five departments of action: to live is to respond to the motives, born into every normal man and woman, of religion, love and ambition; by attaining each for himself in thought and action a relation and conviction, first, as to God and the hereafter; second, towards his country and his fellowmen; third, towards the opposite sex and home; fourth, towards his vocation and daily livelihood, and fifth, towards himself, his own well-being and ideals. It will be understood that while the word man is used, here and elsewhere in this work, it is used in the generic sense, and can be read man or woman, except where otherwise indicated.

Pretentious as may seem the purpose of this work, its highest aim is to be understood by the average mind, which has been found by statistics and practical demonstration to be that of a fourteen-year-old child. This fact may be disturbing, especially in America, where the common school education has always loomed so large, but that it is a fact is indisputable, and should not be glossed over in any writing of serious purpose, for certainly it is not disregarded by the purveyors of literature, the public press and the producers of films and fiction.

What is here written makes no pretense to being philosophical, theological or scientific. It is rather speculative, in the true sense of that word, from its Latin origin, meaning that which results from observation. Though it may be sneered at by the learned, its purpose will be served if it is understood by the ignorant and its conclusions found true to life, however they may depart from accepted academic theories.

The views expressed are unavoidably radical, in the correct sense, of an endeavor to go to the root of "the general wretchedness of mankind." If they are revolutionary, it is in the sense that the adoption of steam and the use of electricity were revolutionary in industry. Nothing is more childish and absurd in our enlightened days of self-government than the idea of revolution as a basis or form of political action. There is no Utopian dream of man, since the world began, which can not be brought into being constitutionally and without change of the government of either the United States or England or most Western nations. For the simple and sufficient reason that it is no longer necessary, it is as infantile for full grown men to use force or advocate its use to accomplish changes in our social or economic order, as for a man to carry an oil lamp aboard a transatlantic liner or a candle into the Library of Congress. The same observation is true of the church as it is of government: we have reached a point in human history where the church and state have become so impotent that they can neither improve nor set back the course of man's progress, and may be treated as mere forms, without vitality, by those who seek to advance the cause of humanity. As forms, they fill a necessary purpose; because we are children, we have to be sent to school, since we have not will power enough to educate ourselves, and so, we have to have a formal government, because we truly are not fit to govern ourselves, and we have to have churches, because we have not the concentration to worship God in spirit and in truth. If those who preach revolution by violence, in this and most other countries, in the present day and generation were properly dealt with, they would be treated as mentally defective and not magnified into a menace.

It is, perhaps, necessary to indicate what is embraced in the division or departments of life, previously referred to.

In all history, very few men have been total unbelievers in God and the hereafter; and many, who in other times, were popularly branded as atheists, were those who dared to think past and disregard formal religion, expressed by ecclesiastical dogmas and ceremonies, in a genuine and

THE NEED OF FAITH

sincere effort to find a more satisfying revelation of the Higher Power in relation to man, than their minds could find in accepted forms of church worship. A brave man, whom our grandparents painted as a devil incarnate, at his brother's funeral said: "In the night of death hope sees a star and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing." So few have been the real atheists amid the billions who have lived and died of the race of man, that they serve only to prove the rule, that every man and woman is essentially and by nature religious. Mortal man seeks his God, whether he be a pagan in the forest or a scientist in the laboratory. A noted English scholar, than whom no man ranks higher in the scientific world, has but recently written: "God is present in all pursuits of knowledge. The perception of God to which the analysis of our experience has led us, is not that of a perfect being existing apart from the ignorance, sin and suffering of our own world, but present within and around us and sharing in our struggle. Our evidence for the existence of God is derived from recognition in ourselves of the striving after truth, beauty and goodness, and it is only in presence of what appears to us as error, evil and ugliness, that this divine striving manifests itself. There is no other evidence of any real value, but this evidence is sufficient, that throughout all the appearance of chaos our universe is the progressive manifestation of God. This conclusion of faith is the faith of religion." To attain true and substantial happiness, a man must satisfy that inner longing, by some form of religion, whether it be primitive animism, Greek philosophy, Roman pantheism, or any of the thousand forms of expression which mankind has used through the ages in his search for God and to adjust himself to the life beyond, which he senses but of which he necessarily knows nothing.

MAN AND HIS COUNTRY

Despite the spread of internationalism since the great war, the fact remains that there is in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of men and women, if not an innate, at least, a so-long inherited trait as to be second nature, which responds to the strains of martial music, with a spiritual thrill, and with quickened heart beat to the hymns of one's country and the call to the defense of the fatherland. *Pro patria mori* is written on the hearts of all men, if we exclude the insignificant few, who constitute that unsung class of citizens of the world giving allegiance to no country, saluting no flag, but living off the best that any land will give them. No man will find true and substantial happiness who has not so related himself to his country and his city and his obligations as a citizen, that he affirms with Decatur—My country, may she ever be right, but right or wrong, my country, and with the Apostle Paul—I am a citizen of no mean city, and find it in himself cheerfully to accord with the laws of his land and to take his part in the effort of his fellow citizens to improve them. "Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said, this is my own, my native land!"

Treating as a passing show, the loose marital morals of the present day and alleged improvements in old-fashioned ideas of wedlock, home and children, no man or woman will dispute that love between the sexes is a demonstrable, formidable, incalculable, ever present force in human affairs. No unloved man or woman ever found true and substantial happiness. With so few and isolated exceptions as to be negligible, the desire of man and woman is by nature and the most ancient tradition in the world, to found a home and family; to increase and multiply. It follows, then, that no cynical indifference can deny the fact that a distinct and necessary division or department of every human life, is the constructive satisfaction of the sex impulse and the home and family instinct.

HOME AND FAMILY

No human being can be truly and substantially happy without the conviction, whether it is shared in by others makes no difference, that he or she is accomplishing something worth while, making something of themselves, pushing the peg of their family progress at least one notch higher, leaving something behind, either offspring or achievement, which will be "footprints in the sands of time." The distinction between humans and brutes is the ability to reason, and the gift of reason to mankind is a blight to any human, who, by his reason, can not work out for himself a goal of something more than to eat, drink and die, like the unreasoning beasts of the field and forest. It is as essential to human happiness to have an ambition or objective in life as it is to have a pair of lungs. For the normal and average man, it is to succeed in his trade or business, make a good living and leave something for his family; and for the average woman, it is to be a good wife, mother and housekeeper. The point is not how important the ambition is, or how high the goal, and none of us ought to set ourselves up in judgment of the

THE JOB AND JUSTICE

other person's ideas of what is worth while as an end and ambition in life. No true or substantial happiness comes to the idling man or the parasitic woman, and one of the great divisions of living consists in finding one's "job" in life and doing the best one can about it. But here we encounter and must recognize a balancing principle, that no ambition or goal or job can bring happiness, if one has "to wade through bloodshed to a throne." In this division of life a sound attitude, if one is to be truly and substantially happy, involves these vastly important factors: a true idea of the rights of others, a realization of the profound difference between the "profit motive" and the "service motive" in life; and a comprehension of economic justice.

SELF-RESPECT

Intelligent selfishness is a human virtue. No man or woman who is not concerned with his or her own physical, mental and moral well-being and development will find true or substantial happiness, whatever other rewards life may seem to bring. To be healthy is as much a duty as to be patriotic. To be intelligent, to the full extent of one's opportunities, is as much a duty as to be morally decent. To attend to the spirit and permit the finer side of nature to develop is as much a duty as to meet one's financial obligations, for we all owe to the Creator, who endowed us with the ability to sense and appreciate nature, art and music, the debt to advance what we call our spirit or soul to the highest plane it is capable of reaching during the short years of mortal existence. It is neither necessary nor wise to starve the soul, however great may be the purpose of that needless sacrifice. In this splendid day of ours, the noblest beauties of nature, the finest art and the supreme achievements of music may be had for the asking, are available, without stint or limitation of wealth or social position, and no man or woman who does not consider it a vital and important part of life to cultivate the spirit, through nature, art and music, will find true and substantial happiness.

These, then, are the five departments or divisions of our daily life, which properly attended to and related, will lift it from mere existence into the joy of responsive living; will make it a glorious adventure which we live in fact and not in novels and scenarios; and change it from a hunted existence for food and shelter into a great achievement—of which the grave will not be the goal—when men are willing, as they now are able, if they will, to live honestly with themselves and justly with their fellow men.

If stupendous problems seem thus to be too simply dealt with, it is because they are in fact simple. It is a very deep hope of the author that the following chapters will present them in such simplicity, that they shall convincingly point to "the dawn of a tomorrow" for the great majority, who have struggled up from beneath the lash of the overseer, from the dust of building of the Pyramids and from rations of the dead and dying dogs of the Ptolemies, to this day in America, where in thought, worship and action every man is free and before the law every man is equal.

That the problems of life are simple was demonstrated by that era in world's history five hundred years before the birth of Christ, when the great minds of the time were directed to the study of life, and not to the mere business of getting and spending. And as a result of that study and philosophical contemplation of life, there came to ancient Greece, generations wherein men found true and substantial happiness and lived under the noblest and finest conditions civilization has ever known before or since. Unfortunately, however, this golden era was only for a restricted few, a small minority of the population; the rest were slaves, speaking tools as they were called. But the fact remains that the ancient Greeks found true and substantial happiness, through their study of life; and we in our day can bring to pass for the great majority true and substantial happiness in a degree surpassing that of ancient Greece, because of the vast mechanical improvements of life, which were to them unknown. The Greek thought which produced the greatest era of human happiness the world has ever known, and was largely responsible for the foundation of the Christian religion, found life so simple that it reduced it to four great virtues: *wisdom, temperance, courage* and *justice and the conviction that it was worth while to do right,* irrespective of reward or punishment and regardless of the shortness of life. This was known and practiced twenty-five hundred years ago; it was the sum total of centuries of thought and study by the greatest minds the world has ever been blest with; it was simple, and so is all truth, and nature and the laws of God.

Tragically, mankind has wasted centuries, aye, millenniums, in seeking happiness, and yet for the individual man or woman, the one thing of which there is but a limited amount is time. Millions upon millions have suffered and died who might have been happy. Neither mankind nor any man has time to waste. Let them waste every other gift of the Creator, wealth, natural resources, and all the things which attend life, but let no man from this day forth waste his own life, let not mankind delay the day when true and substantial happiness comes to all, for the way is so simple: to live honestly, to harm no one, and to render to each man his own.

THE MAN WITH THE HOE

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
And markt their ways upon the ancient deep
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this—
More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed—
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Thru this dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Thru this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Powers that made the world
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quencht
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
How will the future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake all shores?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb Terror shall rise to judge the world,
After the silence of the centuries?

EDWIN MARKHAM

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CHAPTER I

FAITH

Reasoned faith is essential to the attainment of both individual and mass happiness and well-being. Faith must begin with God, end with oneself and include all fellowmen. No forward movement of humanity is possible without it.

Religion is to life what the sea is to dry land. The land rose out of the sea; the waters of the earth were not poured down around ready made continents. Every man must sooner or later cross the sea of faith. He may, if he will be stupid, deny that it exists; as a dweller of the hinterland may disavow the existence of the Atlantic. He may be ignorant of its tremendous forces and shun the thought that sooner or later he must cross to the great beyond. But cross, he will; believe, he must.

No man or woman ever lived who, caught in the clash of elemental forces, which one encounters only upon the vast expanse of ocean, in shipwreck and disaster, hurled by wind and wave midst lightning flashings into a roaring sea of mountainous waves, covered by the darkness and doomed by distance from the shore, did not with his lips or heart, ask some god to save him. No man or woman ever lived who stood beside the deathbed of one dearer than life, who did not pray to some deity or higher power to save that other life. No atheist ever lived who had the mentality of a five year old child, whatever he may have branded himself. Man believes because he has to. The compulsion lies in his own inner conscience; he may not know, none of us know; but in some form or other all of us believe.

The source of that belief lies in something higher and finer than fear, despite the doctrinaire conclusion of experts to the contrary: that all religion finds its root in fear. Such reasoning is similar to, and as false as, saying that all love between man and woman originates in sexual desire. Men and women have known the finest type of human love, when no thought of sex could or did enter in. Men and women have been truly religious, whose pure courageous souls knew not the meaning of fear. And, of both love and religion, it is a common human experience and observation, that the sweetest consummation of love comes when or after the sex impulse is inert, and of religion in those extremities of life where there is naught to fear, save life itself.

One of the colossal blunders of the organized religion of our time is its preaching of the fear of God. Every man and woman fears God; every nation and people is a God-fearing nation and people; whatever they call their god makes no difference. The weakness of organized religion is the idea that some prophet, evangelist or saint took out a patent on God and a copyright on religion. True religion has had no greater enemy than organized religion; not because organized religion may not serve a useful purpose for mankind, but because each particular religion, sect and denomination assumed that it was the only worship which could serve a useful purpose for mankind. Every religion the world has known sooner or later destroys itself by its own intolerance, and more men and women and children have been kept from an avowed acknowledgment of God and a true effort to bring their lives into harmony with the laws of God, or nature, or whatever one may choose to call the higher power, by creeds and hypocrisy of organized religion, than by the forces of that supposedly incardine creature our forebears called the devil.

It may appear a coarse illustration but it makes the point. Any farmer knows that too much fertilizer mixed with the soil will burn up the seedling or destroy its vitality. Organized religion has done just this. It preaches that men must be God-fearing to men who are by nature God-fearing and cannot be otherwise; it seeks to persuade them by human miracles, when every sunrise and the firmament is to them a miracle and they recognize it as such; it commands them to do that against which their God-given natures revolt and seeks to prohibit them from doing that which their conscience tells them is not wrong; it denies the existence of facts which are demonstrably true and asserts the existence of things which a five year old child knows cannot be true. And it is with this mixture of sawdust and poison that the natural yearning of the human soul is to be fed.

Men will ever differ in their particular forms of religious belief, because of racial, physical, educational and domestic differences. In countries where women outdid men and matriarchy was the form of government, God to such peoples is a woman. In places where cattle and herds are the only answer to starvation, God to such people may be a cow. But what of it; if in time they learn otherwise and to worship God in spirit and in truth, they will have advanced intellectually, but be neither more nor less religious. Any faith which recognizes a higher power and life after death is a true religion. Perhaps, some day, we shall build a great house of worship dedicated to the God of All Men, by Whatever Name He May be Called, in Whatever Form He May be Symbolized, By Whatever Creed He May be Worshipped and By Whatever Earthly Instrument, Human or Otherwise, He May be Represented. And in such a house of worship, about a great central hall or gathering place, we shall have shrines and confessionals for the Catholics, synagogues and tabernacles for the Jews, ikons and idols for the idolaters, prayer books and mitres for the Episcopalians, baptismal basins for the Baptists, session rooms for the Presbyterians and their elders, silent meeting houses for the Quakers, groves for the Vedantists, etc., etc., so that all who come may worship after the manner of his own conviction, and in the great central hall, all shall meet and not one of them but can sing the Doxology,

> Praise God from whom all blessings flow,
> Praise Him all creatures here below

even though the intelligentsia may drop out on the next line

> Praise Him above ye heavenly host

and the Jews and Buddhists and others be silent when it comes to

> Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The "history of religion" has been repeatedly recorded, but no man has ever lived who could write the history of religion. What he writes is *his* history of religion. The history of religion is recorded in every human soul and nowhere else! The ideal historian of religion would be an atheist, but before his task were well under way, he would cease to be an atheist, even if one can conceive of him starting as such. No two painters will paint the same scene identically, not even as to line, much less as to color. We all paint into our work what ancestry, tradition, upbringing, home environment, education and experience painted into us. Therefore, none of us can ever be sure he is right, except as he is sure he is right with himself. In every department of life is this true and nowhere more so than in our faiths; happiness lies only in squaring one's convictions and actions with his own conscience. Now one may appear totally wrong in his actions and conduct to others; and in fact, judged by every other standard than his own peculiar nature, he may be wrong; but if he is right with himself, he has found the truth, for that which to him is true, is true, however untrue it may be for others. Hence, a cardinal virtue in one's contact with his fellow-man is tolerance. No better formula of happiness exists than—"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"—but it must be your truth, that which squares with your own nature. A story of an inmate of one of our hospitals illustrates the point: he was convinced he was dead; after much persuasion he agreed to let a surgeon lance his thumb to prove to him that his blood was still circulating; when he was asked how he explained it his answer was that it only showed that dead men do bleed. It is commonly recognized that by birth or accident in childhood some persons are or become mental defectives; we treat them as such and do not damn them for it. It is equally true that persons are born or become morally defective; we thereupon damn them if we can not evangelize them. There are degrees of morality, immorality and unmorality, and religion can no more be organized for universal acceptance than an educational system could be devised for all kinds and conditions of minds; and in organized religion we carry the fallacy still further by prescribing the same religious doctrine, formula, catechism, dogma for all ages, as well. There are in the United States 70,000,000 Protestants, so called, all of whom are supposed to know the Catechism and believe in the Apostles' Creed. How many do? There are 100,000 clergymen, the pastors of these millions who are theologically compelled to assert that Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, while arguing that their parishioners can and should be Christ-like. Similar fallacies exist in every other organized religion, and yet millions are spent each year to keep organized religion off the scrapheap of things which civilization has discarded. No "buck private" would be fool enough if he had to equip his regiment to order all the shirts and shoes of the same size, but seriously organized religion expends millions each year, deprives the Government of millions each year in tax exemptions of their properties, invests millions each year in new buildings, each religion or denomination upon the accepted idea that it is right, and necessarily the only one that is right about man's relation to God, and that the millennium will only be reached when all men accept its tenets. The smallest merchant has more intelligence than that: he has at least a few sizes and one or two different styles of merchandise from which his patrons may select according to their individual tastes and requirements.

Without commenting on its justification because of the cruel combination of church and state in Czaristic Russia, it is here to be said in words of which there can be no doubt, that no social or economic reform should live or can live, which deprives the masses of their god or the average man and woman and little children of the comfort, help and joy of church worship. Whether one's tabernacle be the woods, or the sea, or the church, or the synagogue, or the cathedral, he needs a place to be alone with God; not a place where he will be preached at and threatened with the fear of God; not a place where someone will tell him what he should theologically believe, what he should (and should not) do, eat or think, but a place where he can come in contact in his own way with that higher power he worships and commune and get hold of himself and be reminded that he is not a brute living for mere existence, but a creation of the noblest possibilities who can and must some day attain to all those things, which are true and beautiful and soul-satisfying.

The world needs no new religion, it has plenty. The world needs no Messiah or second coming of the Lord. It needs only to bring home to the average man and woman these things: first, a demonstration that life is just or can be made so; second, that man was not intended and should not be forced to live by bread alone; and, third, a free opportunity, untrammeled by creeds and clerical nagging, to express what is hidden in every heart, a love of God, not the fear of God; and faith in His laws to bring happiness, if men will give those laws a chance to work naturally.

It is important to observe what is included in a true faith, as it affects an individual.

No man can be wrong with God and right with his fellowmen; and no man who is right with God will wrong his fellowman. This simple test would put a lot of churchmen out of their pews and replace them with many who avow no formal religion.

Historically, there have been few crimes against the natural rights of man which have not been originated, or aided or abetted or at least tolerated by some organized religion; and there have been few wars in which the cannon were not blessed under some church auspices. This fact accounts for the bitterness of the masses, in their misguided groups and movements toward religion. It is a great tragedy that this is true, and every man who takes it upon himself to change, or help to change the social, economic or political order of things, must, ever and anon, if he be prudent and sincere, drive in upon the great majority, that for what organized religion and the church have done, God Almighty and true religion are no more responsible than are the Government and the United States Treasury for counterfeit money.

Mankind has suffered more from three great perversions of natural laws than from all the wars in history: monopolization of natural resources, artificial inheritance of property and the invention of the corporation. And from the outset, these instruments of oppression were not only encouraged but made use of by organized religion to enrich itself in order to contend with the political power of the sovereign and ruler of the state. Hence, the inevitableness of the resentment of the exploited masses at their now discovered betrayal by the very institution which through preaching fear of God, forced them first to bow the knee and eventually, through habit, to put their faith in it rather than in their God. This indictment runs against every organized religion; the difference has been only the skill, efficiency and scope of the betrayal. The masses have been exploited by the church, and the church has been exploited by those same forces, which, barring occasional differences, have controlled the state, holding the average man between upper and nether millstone, grinding out not alone his blood and bone but mind and soul as well. These days are over, not because of any transfiguration of humanity, but because that Higher Power, in whose name great wrongs have been done, has brought mankind, through forces in His own control, to the point where exploitation, which can exist only when there is darkness and ignorance, is no longer possible, except as in its death throes it still grasps with its cold and bloodless hand. For all the wrongs which have been done to the great majority in His Name, God Almighty has compensated mankind by ending the possibility of it forever, by making the very air the messenger of His truth and by putting into the brains of inspired men the ideas which have wrought the marvelous mechanical changes of the past century, and into the souls and minds of others the idealism of freedom and equality and the courage and genius to bring them to pass. It is more apparent than ever that the "Heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth His handiwork."

If only now the masses of the exploited and the downtrodden the world over will but be patient, realizing that their condition cannot become worse, that it can move only in one direction towards their betterment; that it will take time, that neither war, nor bloodshed, nor class hatred is necessary, and that the only thing which can prevent a better day than the world has ever known for the vast majority, is their own impatience. God grant that they shall not wreck the progress of four thousand years by creating a chaos which it will take centuries to undo, and which will only be undone by another cycle of dynasts, men on horseback, emperors and political and economic despots.

A clear view of what true faith means is fundamental in this tremendous era of civilization's development. The pendulum of human thought, for reasons here referred, has swung away from a religion of God to a religion of economics, because of a justified hatred and fear for a religion of organized worship. For centuries there has been a religious "racket" as there has been a militaristic racket. The masses are aware of it and swing too far the other way. Again and again it must be said, you cannot substitute economics, for God; and belief in social changes, for religious faith. When a man lies down on his deathbed, it makes little difference to his eternal soul, whether he dies under a monarchial or a soviet government; whether his death notice will appear in a republican newspaper or a socialistic journal; it makes an infinity of difference what his faith and religion were in the lifetime now drawing to a close. We must not forget the undeniable fact that "as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he."

The religions of the world which gained the greatest number of converts, and today number among their avowed followers half the human race, are Christianity, Buddhism, and Moslemism. Two, it may truly be said, had their prototype in Grecian Stoicism; but their great and common characteristic is that neither of these religions dealt much with theology or theory, as far as their founders were concerned, had little to do with the supernatural, but did deal with the relations of the individual to God and to his fellowman in the ordinary contacts and daily working of life; if you please, with the things of the flesh which concern mortal men, not with disputations of theories as to immortal gods. In a very brief ministry of less than three years, Christ pointed out the truth as he saw it in such commonplace things, as the attitude toward little children, toward money changers, toward governmental authority, toward food and wine, toward prostitutes, toward business associations, toward the home, as well as man's direct personal relation with God, as expressed in prayer and his relations with his fellowman. Had Christ's teachings been as well understood by his alleged followers as they were sensed by his enemies, hospitals, schools, even of social research, institutions for the aged, reformatories and homes for little children would have been founded in his name, but not theological seminaries. Much the same may be said of Buddha, who never pretended to be more than mortal man, disconsolate over the condition of his fellowmen, and seeking to find for them a better way. How fine a thing it would be if the world at large might know that no one could have been more shocked and revolted than these two great religious teachers at the nonsense and mysticism which have been built up around their lives to serve the purpose of those who found it good business to exploit their alleged supernatural qualities, as a means of profiting by the fear and ignorance of the multitude.

These two great religious leaders knew that faith was a man's life, not something apart, to be put on and taken off with his Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes. And this, too, we must all learn. For it is our religion which determines our attitude toward the injustices suffered by others, toward the destitute, the unhappy, the abandoned woman, the half-nurtured child, the sick in body and soul, the lonesome aged, the wayward youth, the habitual drunkard, the incurable gambler, the wanton, the reckless, the ignorant, the foolish, the parasitic, the deceitful, the crooked, the diseased, the helpless and the hopeless all about us. It is our faith, too, if it be a true religion, which fixes our standards and ideas of patriotism, of domestic responsibility, of business conduct and professional ethics, and our own place, purpose and ideals in life.

It may be well to make clear the distinction between religion, philosophy, morals and ethics. It lies here—of these only religion looks beyond the grave, and no life is complete which dares not look that far and no life can be happy that has not found for itself that faith and hope which destroys the fear of death.

If no other condemnation existed of the religions which prevail in Western civilization, this would be enough: they have not taught men how to die; we still go "like slaves scourged to a dungeon."

If a man engages in a business enterprise and it fails to take care of his monetary needs it is a failure; a business is supposed to show a profit: that is the only excuse for its existence, the only reasonable explanation for a man putting his time, substance and commercial faith in it. If a religion cannot teach us how to die, how to face the one certain and inevitable fact of life, why bother with it, what is it good for? Both Christ and Buddha realized that such was the ultimate test of all religion; and Christ proved it.

It is a strange thing that certain men who avow no religion meet death with a nobility which puts to shame many a church devotee. A man is not prepared to live, unless he is prepared to die. And the only way he can be prepared to die, is by a religious faith, whether it be mute within his own breast, or a blind belief in the efficacy of religious formalities. That is the essential quality of religion which distinguishes it from philosophy, morals and ethics.

Simply stated, philosophy is the science of life; how to live most happily, according to one's own standard of happiness. The Sybaritic philosophy was legitimate for those who accepted it: eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die; but it was not a religion and it is not recorded how Sybarites died, unless it be assumed they died drunk. Socrates drank the hemlock nobly, his philosophy carried him that far; but could that brain of Socrates, and his splendid soul, face that last hour without realizing what nonsense his casual acceptance of a many-godded religion was. Again, how marvelous are the works of the Creator; out of the brute he fashions through countless ages, the brains of the Greek philosopher, it carries on to the concept of Stoic virtue; five hundred years pass, and two men are born who dare look beyond the grave and out of the philosophy of the Greeks they fashion rules of life, which they and countless others come to believe lay the foundation for a happier life hereafter; two millenniums pass, and the ways are opened to bring to all mankind their message distilled to the essence of surviving truth, and for the mind and soul of the intelligent of twenty centuries later there are sound grounds for the conviction that both here and in the hereafter, a Higher Power has so wrought the world that mankind may be happy!

Ethics and morals are respectively offspring of philosophy and sociology. They are concerned with human conduct. Philosophy evolves a more or less complete code to guide human conduct, it is called ethics; it is based upon speculative observation and deductions from human experience. Society develops rules to govern human conduct, which have not the force of law. These are called morals. Faith brings man into contact with God and out of his own conscience determines for himself what is right and wrong.

Neither ethics nor morals are of universal significance, nor of much significance in our individual lives, shocking as that statement may seem. The reason for it is this: both ethics and morals vary with the country and the climate. In *some* parts of the world it is moral to have many wives, and in *others,* many husbands. In New England, *either* is immoral; in New York City and Paris each is moral. In some parts of the world it is ethical to have many prices for the same merchandise. It was in America until Cyrus McCormick marketed his harvesting machine; now it is not ethical in America, it still is in Armenia—a difference of one letter in the name of the countries. Nothing is cheaper and less justified in human conduct than basing one's actions on a private code of morals or a supposititious code of ethics. Anything can be justified from Daniel Drew's practice of raiding the Stock Market to support a seminary, to the girl who goes wrong to support her invalid mother. Neither alleged ethics nor undefined morals are a substitute for faith, any more than a school boy's map not drawn to scale would be a safe guide for transatlantic navigation.

Faith must come from within, not from outside intellectual conviction; itself imponderable, there is no ascertainable weight of evidence which can turn the human soul to God. The way to the soul of men and women is a mystery which none can solve; a little wisp of a dead child's hair has turned a drunkard father back to his home and duty and brought him into closer contact than he had ever known with his God; a faded flower, pressed and crumbling between the pages of a forgotten book, have brought a wayward child back to the faith the mother knew; a cheap print of the lordly Kitchener in O. Henry's story, kept a girl from a fatal step to degradation.

If the church will adjust itself to a true religion which reaches the heart of men and does not appeal to their baser motives, fear, pride and vainglory; if it avoids the mistakes of the past of capitalizing ignorance and superstition and frees itself from those who exploit it to commercial, political or social ends; if it shuns interference with politics and economics and social theory; it will survive, *elsewise,* the sooner it passes, the better.

If it does these things, politics, economics and the social order will take care of themselves, without the influence or interjection by the church, beyond its task of getting men right with God and their fellowmen.

If it fails to do these things, the church will pass, but religion will go on, and whatever form it takes, it will serve its ordered end: that men shall learn to live together and towards God honestly, doing unto each other as they would be done by.

Certain religions have been identified with love and/or charity, chiefly by their translators, revisers and promoters, and let no one doubt that astute men have not seen in religion just as profitable a field of promotion as in the oil fields. It was not Christ who said "the greatest of these is charity" or love, as it is sometimes translated. It was not even a disciple, but one who, as far as is known, had never seen Christ, heard him speak or conversed with him. There is a vast difference between doing to one's neighbor as you would be done by and loving thy neighbor as thyself. All men can attain the former, it is simple justice; few men can sincerely love another as themselves. The first is necessary to a fair, just and happy world and can be brought to pass; the second is not essential, is against the nature of men and cannot be brought to pass now, if ever it should be brought to pass. Self-preservation is the first law of life and it is well that it is so. In disaster a man will save himself, his wife and his children, but it does not lie in human nature for the average man to go about looking for a chance to save someone else or his wife and children. We better be blunt about such matters. A man will be chivalrous to the weak and considerate of the old and young, but given two men of equal age and capacity, neither one is going to stand aside in favor of the other fellow in times of danger. Any plan for a better world must take humanity as it is, a fact which does not seem to be grasped by professional reformers and religionists. Schemes for the betterment of mankind always assume that by some miracle they are going to be participated in by better men than those we know in our daily lives. For two thousand years now, organized Christianity has preached love and charity to a world that today has little more of the milk of human kindness in its bosom than when this creed started. The essence of Christ's teaching is to have faith in God and be just to your fellowman —that therein lies happiness for all. You can preach love and charity to sentimental youth, and they again will preach it when they become non-combatants through age or disease, but when they are strong and in the glorious fight of life, they will treat it as a pleasant fiction of the nursery. In a properly ordered, justly organized world, there is no place for charity and no need for love beyond the natural expression between the sexes and between parent and child; and that in fact is the only place in the world where love in fact exists, and those who preach brotherly love and pretend to believe it have been wrong, ever since Cain slew Abel, assuming either of them ever existed.

It is not sensible to presume that an all-wise God created a half crippled world which could not go on happily without universal love and charity. He made the average man and woman competent to take care of themselves if they got a fair start in a just world of men; probably we shall some day learn that, with exceptions as few as those which exist in other sections of the natural world, He created all men and women well, healthy, strong in body and mind, and sound in desires and morals, and that what has caused disease, insanity, crippled bodies, criminal instincts, perverted morals and individual incapacity for life, has been those same damnable restraints upon His primal laws, which have deprived great multitudes of mankind of the enjoyment of natural resources, a fair start in life and an equitable chance to make their own way, without false, artificial man-created competition.

There is nothing quite so disgusting as a sleek clergyman living in complete luxury preaching brotherly love as the first principle of the Master he pretends to follow, and disregarding completely the mandate of that Master, sell all thy goods, even to an extra cloak, give to the poor and follow me.

Trying to make the world better by this kind of love has not worked; let us forget it and try simple justice in its place.

Nor will what is called philanthropy or altruism accomplish the day when all men shall have a chance to find their own true and substantial happiness. One of the stupid things an ordinarily smart capitalistic system does is to try to avoid its own natural and inevitable end by doing penance. In life we have a great deal more respect for the desperado who dies tight-lipped, than one who cringes to his execution, mumbling prayers of a deathbed repentance.

Capitalism has done a very necessary and satisfactory job for civilization; it has been cruel, ruthless, crooked and brutal, but such was its nature and for its accomplishment we accord it credit, for its methods, damnation. It is dying, it must die. It cannot find absolution in philanthropy; having accumulated, by its unspeakable methods, let us say in the United States alone, at least two hundred billion dollars, it last year gave, through its ninety charity foundations, the magnificent sum of fifty millions. A speakeasy proprietor pays a much higher percentage for protection. Most great capitalists in the past have been men of little education, less historical perspective and almost devoid of the power of thought except in one direction. They were therefore, among the stupidest men that live. Their ideas on all subjects except their own game were amazingly childish, as is instantly demonstrated by the fact that although they controlled the progress of civilization for at least one thousand years, it lands in the hopeless chaos of the present era. Few things are as dumb and egocentric as accumulated millions, and it would seem as if a child would know that expending out of charitable foundations in a year a total amount of less than the single City of New York spends on its necessary public functions in two months, is not going to contribute much to the permanent, true and substantial happiness of the billion and a half people who occupy this terrestrial globe.

The gold standard may be sound as a basis for international currency, even that is none too certain, but no gold standard can reform the world.

The sentimentalists would do it by charity; religionists would do it by love; the long haired men and short haired women by parlor socialism; the megalomaniacs by dictatorship, and only the man in the street knows that it must be done by the principles of economic justice, simply stated fifteen hundred years ago in fifteen words: to live honestly, harm no one; let each man get what he is entitled to.

There has always been a conflict of viewpoints as to whether the way to cure the world's ills was first to reform the natures of men or to reform the conditions surrounding them before seeking to instill religion into their lives. The answer is obvious: there is no relation of cause and effect between the two. Good men live in a bad world; and there will be bad men in the good world. A house may be uninhabitable because its plumbing is defective or because of other people's actions who live in it. Curing the one does not remedy the other. Moreover and finally, men's natures cannot be changed by external treatment; environment can serve only to let the nature of the individual develop naturally; as has been facetiously noted, if a cat had kittens in an oven they would not be biscuits. The noblest men have come from most wretched economic and social conditions; and notorious perverts and criminals have developed out of fine surroundings and every known advantage; a lily will grow in the mud and still be a lily; poison ivy will flourish in a cultivated garden; where environment comes in is when you put the lily in a pot in the cellar.

Neither Christ nor Buddha nor any other great religious leader was a socialist, and it is fanciful for an excellent scholar to write of Christian Socialism. Great religious leaders know they have enough to do in their own field, and Christ dismissed the matter of getting involved in politics by the salient remark, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." He knew, as every wise man knows, that in the departmentalization of life His task was to deal with the souls of men, not their social conditions or economic environment. Unless we assume the supernatural, great religious leaders do not choose their own time to be born. Frequently their advent is in times and places of great physical misery and unhappiness, and their teachings do get dragged into their wrong field by misguided, less wise, too enthusiastic and idealistic disciples. Unfortunately, no great spiritual force has ever come into the world at what might be termed an ideal time. It had to expend itself when the world was not ready for it, hence its accomplishments have been diminished and delayed. Conversion or religion based on oppression, fear, misery and bereavement is apt to be short lived. Organized Christianity has been peculiarly stupid about this; it has been concerned chiefly in a kind of hospitalization of those who had nowhere else to seek aid or comfort. It has been a sort of crisis-religion, totally foreign to any real conception of the true place and function of real religion. Both the Jewish and Christian religions have been pagan and unintelligent in their Jehovah and Messiah ideas; a sort of religion of special privilege when the devout can call upon God to do tricks for them, confound their enemies, interfere with His own divinely ordered nature and suspend His own great laws of cause and effect and compensation.

To go back to our simple illustration of the house with bad plumbing and bad occupants. It is possible but difficult, as experience shows, to make good neighbors out of them, when they have no sanitary facilities; on the other hand, putting in new plumbing will not make them any better neighbors; but it will permit them to think about something beside bad plumbing and give a reasonable chance for an uplift message to be listened to and sink in. Now this may be a very homely way of expressing the relation of religious teaching to economics and social reform, but it accords with the facts of life. It is just as futile to try to implant true religion in a sick and starving family, as it is to convert a man who is down and out by free meals at a mission or cheap lodgings in a religious institution. While Christ said "Feed my lambs," he did not delegate that job to shepherds; it is the job of most of us to see that humanity gets a chance to live decently and exist happily and not to try to feed body and soul at the same time. The evangelization of the world must be left to the great souls who are occasionally born among us, while we make ready a world where to talk of a just God and brotherly love does not seem the cruel joke it now appears. It were better too that no great religious teacher come for the present, for his teachings will unavoidably get involved with economic and social problems, which will help neither. The world can solve its economic and social problems without resort to religion; but religion must give us men and women who know the meaning of sincerity and service toward their fellowmen.

A poignant bit of verse was published in a newspaper some years ago which read in part:

"Was it the wave or the rock,
  Was it a crime or a blunder,
Made the good vessel a mock
  Wracking her keelson asunder . . .
Shattered are rudder and mast—
  Was the Pilot at fault, or the Builder?"

How many millions of troubled minds have asked themselves in facing their own hardships or in observing those of others, how may these things be, what causes have brought to pass on this or that weary head such sorrow, trouble and tragedy? Failing to find in the acts of the sufferer or victim of these afflictions just cause for such dire punishment, or perhaps no cause at all, the simple mind of the average human has found no choice but to accept it as the act of God. Great poetry and plays and music have been written to this text.

To the primitive mind, these things happened because God was a God of Wrath.

To the religiously trained mind, these things happened, because God was wise and knew what was best for his children upon the theory that whom God loveth he chasteneth.

To the blasé mind of today these things happened, because nature is always cruel and man is no exceptional departure from the rule of nature.

Each assertion is false and a canard upon the Creator who endowed us with our minds and souls.

The erroneous assumption of primal man was inevitable; he knew no better.

The false hypothesis of the religiously trained is the pathetic result of organized religion, directed to the ulterior objectives of the ruling classes.

The skeptical conclusion of the modern intelligentsia is not founded on fact, for nature is not cruel and the discoveries of exploration and science bear proof of that; no creature lives which has not the means of protecting itself from its natural environment, and outside of man few creatures live that will destroy a fellow creature for sheer wantonness.

The truth lies here, that the disasters which come upon us are either those of our own making, or the results of the distortion of the laws of nature and nature's God for some selfish end of man.

It is not necessarily the fault of either the maker or pilot when a fine nature is wrecked or a worthwhile career founders.

It may be simple, but most of us are simple, frequently to wonder why that which is done with the best of motives so often results in disaster; to try to reconcile what we were taught in childhood that never is the righteous man forsaken, with our own recollections of how many of the noblest among our acquaintances have endured unspeakable and undeserved afflictions.

For a time, as we think of these contradictions, we find explanation in the ancient doctrine of nemesis or the plausibilities of a law of compensation. But as we seek to apply these theories to the life we know, like Omar Khayyam, we come in through that same door that out we went.

We find eventually that we can not relate effects, as we see them, to any cause which logically or justly would account for the results.

Then either we revert in despair, through sheer fatigue, like an exhausted child, to the faith of our fathers, and do it blindly the rest of our days, or we turn to agnosticism, occasionally relieved by a temporary adherence to some strange creed or faith.

God did not endow man with intelligence only to make him go mad in solving the riddle of life.

There has so long existed in human affairs the artificial perversion of natural justice, that we have taken it for granted and attributed its damnable results either to God or nature. It is as though some jungle tribe had lived for centuries on the edge of a pestilential swamp or drunk of a recurrently polluted spring. The inevitable illness and death of its members has been attributed to angry spirits and witch doctors have grown rich and powerful selling impotent charms. To that tribe, upon its accepted hypothesis, God is cruel and only on that theory can they account for the sufferings of those they know to be innocent. For centuries this goes on until one day, a railroad or canal is built through the jungle; the swamp is drained, sanitation is installed, illness and death and horror disappear. After all, they were neither the fault of the gods or those child-like natives, and all their philosophy, religion and science, for such they are in crude forms, proved wrong.

So it is of the human civilization, with this variation in the analogy, we have created our own pestilential swamp, as has been done repeatedly in earlier days of mining camps and settlements, which were built in ignorance of sanitary laws.

Man, born into a world where nature gave him all he needed to make it his servant, to clothe, feed and house him and his, to bring up his family, to develop the blessings of health, the exhilaration of productive employment, freedom to go and come, choose his neighbors, set up and rule his own countries, worship as his religious instinct taught him, to capture the beauties of music, nature and form, was not content. Perhaps this is the significance of the allegory of the Garden of Eden, and the serpent's apple was the concept that one might have more than his share, by conquering the others, and taking unto himself a monopoly of these natural endowments, and forcing others to live on his terms and by his mercy. Certainly in the earliest history of man we find this concept at work, and so long have we lived under its damnable burdens, that we even now find it hard to realize that it has been this man-made injustice, and the devices and fictions it has invented, which have kept the great majority from happiness and all of us from a true and pure realization of our Creator and His plans and purposes for us, individually and as the possessors of His universe.

The achievement of human happiness without a sound and true religious relationship to the universe and its Creator is as impossible as to construct a great edifice without regard to the laws of physics and mathematics. When by nothing more than applied common sense, we shall have produced a world in which day by day every man and woman has the certainty of being justly dealt with, there will come as does the noonday after dawn, not a supernatural or artificial revelation of God but a natural religion, not made by hands, but carved out of the gold of the human soul. We shall make men make themselves good, when we shall first have made them happy; they will find beauty, good and truth through justice, not through commandments, precepts or philosophy. After all, this is a far more logical evolution than that which has been attempted to be forced by our former methods. We can not reform man and the average man does not need reformation. We can reform the conditions under which he lives, and under decent and just surroundings he will grow to moral health, where now he is sick; he will resolve his own doubts about his place in the universe and his relation to God; he will deal sensibly and wholesomely with sex, as religionists or moralists have not succeeded in teaching him; he will make commerce a decent means of procuring necessities and luxuries, conducted by fair business practices; and in the contentment of his own existence he will have neither reason nor impulse to war upon his neighbors, either individually or nationally. The simple logic of first making a just world before trying to make a religious world is the commonplace way in which we deal with those to whom we are gods; to wit, our dogs. The first thing we try to teach a new dog is that he is secure from unjust punishment, gets a proper reward for good behavior and is in surroundings where he is going to be treated fairly. Thus, we allay the wolf instinct in him. We do this first before we try to break him of bad habits or vicious traits. The result is that with this implanted in his dog mind, he submits to punishment without seeking to defend himself or fight back. To the extent of his understanding, he has learned that where there is justice he can suffer only from his own wrongs or mistakes, and that his god is after all his friend; and the *deus ex machina* of the first few days becomes first friend, and then and forever, quite a different kind of deity. To those who resent the analogy let them read one of the finest things ever put in words, though done in the speed of the editorial room on a daily newspaper, the *New York Sun:*

THE KING'S DOG.

Preceding King Edward's bodyguard of the princes of the earth on his last progress through the streets of his capital; preceding the King-Emperor his son, the Emperor-King his nephew, and rulers from the four corners of the Continent; preceding princes of the blood, so many that their rank was cheapened almost by their numbers; preceding even the royal standard of the realm, there walked dejectedly, without consciousness of the ready sympathy of the masses gathered to bid their dead King a last farewell, the humblest mourner of them all, and, it may be said without fear of being misunderstood, the most sincere as well. For him alone the light of life had gone out completely, without hope of the future or the compelling consolation of the world's work that will not stand still and wait on grief. He was face to face with the uncomprehended twilight of his deity, with the unaccountable desertion of the being who to him was all-wise and omnipotent, the source of all his happiness.

"My name is Cæsar," said his collar, and "I belong to the King." No statement is ever graved by human hands on marble or granite or precious metal so true as this; no tribute is ever more loyally earned. At the foot of the throne, in the palace, Cæsar was wholly the King's, and his alone, as he would have remained his in exile, in a hovel. In all Edward's proud domain, among all the millions that faithfully served him and sincerely loved him, there was none so sublimely indifferent to his rank and station, none so unconscious of the significance of his favor, none so disinterested.

"The King is dead, long live the King!" Life rolls on. There is work to be done. There are changes coming—insignificant changes in the court, portentous ones in the state and in the family of nations. Grief will soften into memory; to-morrow it will fade into history. But Cæsar was the King's alone. His only mission, his only interest in life, was to love him and to watch over him as only a dog can watch over his master, with a vigilance that never tires. Life has lost all meaning for him. In desolate places, at closed doors, beside an empty chair his mournful eyes will humbly, patiently beg an answer to the mystery of the desertion of his friend.

If we have in fact been wrong about our approach to the betterment of man's estate, let us not be bitter about it or indulge in recriminations that serve no purpose. There is more than an apostle's fancy in the assertion that all things work together for good. Civilization was bound to build and blast in wrong ways before this great day of ours, when while it must build anew, it is able to build intelligently and out of the sorrowful but useful errors of the past.

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Thanksgiving Day, gales, dark skies, troubled seas. Perhaps it was such a day the Pilgrims landed: it is on such a day in the face of the crushing power of nature, that forebodings and primitive fears of the elements cause abnormal doubts and pessimism and a kind of unintelligent religious devoutness. This is the more true if one be in strange places and alone, however many people may be around one.

To one who thinks, there comes the question what our Thanksgiving Day means: superficially it would appear an ironic jest, as one considers the state of the nations of the world. Last Sunday in Praha, they were observing Toten-tag in sorrowful recollection of the dead. A week ago yesterday, the Germans had their Buss und Bet-tag or day of prayer and atonement. Today is America's Thanksgiving Day. One wonders first why fear has been so implanted in man as almost to control his destiny: fear of death, fear of nature, fear of God, fear of the future, and all the lesser fears of oppression, injustice, poverty, sickness, starvation and the multitude of disasters which can happen in the lives of men and peoples. For only one of these does a natural reason appear to exist: that is the fear of death. Since the early man as he gained the first inklings of intelligence must need to come to fear the vicissitudes of his dangerous and primitive existence, and might well have formed a concept that life was not worth while, as now millions have, it was necessary, if the human race were to go on, to overcome that possible mental inhibition by irresistible forces.

To illustrate, we might observe the modern methods of "caging" wild animals, where a narrow ditch of water proves more effective than iron bars. One of the most interesting sights in the world is in the Zoological Garden at Leipsic, where scores of full sized lions and tigers range over rocks between which and the spectator there is no obvious obstacle, until on closer observation one finds about a ten foot moat with running water. The youngest lion or tiger cub could leap it at will, but they don't because they know they can't; but without having made inquiry of those who might scientifically be able to answer, at least, hypothetically one wonders if a torpedo were dropped in the midst of a sleeping group of these tawny fellows, whether they could not forget their inhibitions and escape. Now, man well might have built a wall around his continued existence, as today many do, by a refusal to propagate and/or self destruction. To overcome the first, the Creator gave almost irresistible potency to the sex impulse; to prevent the latter, there had to be instilled in man the fear of death. There is a great deal of philosophy in the darkey melody—"scared of living, feared of dying" in words of Old Man River. A considerable part of humanity has reached a stage of intelligence, where for many the fear of death can not reasonably exist, and another considerable section of mankind has so trifled with sex that they have learned how to distil its pleasure with no responsibility for procreation. Hence, it follows that in our own day, and it will be increasingly true as generations advance, with the primitive ignorance and fears eliminated, the race will not go on, unless we make life a thing of true and substantial happiness, wherein there shall be the keen desire of the savage to live, but based upon an intelligent conviction, that to live is profoundly worth while; wherein there shall be the desire to propagate, because life is sweet and the true sexual relation the holiest sacrament of God.

The first thought Thanksgiving Day stirs is the wretched falsity and the awful blight to America and the world, of the Puritanism which invented this day without ever knowing a wholesome attitude toward God, nature, life or fellow men, and the things for which there were and are real causes for thanksgiving. They with our earlier ancestors of other sects and convictions succeeded in converting a healthy animal, called man, endowed with intelligence of unlimited scope and natural morality, into a cowardly, deceitful, selfish, sometimes cunning, little beast with the acquired traits of a coyote or hyena. They perverted a world of natural beauty, happiness and justice into a place of fears and the avarice born of fears. There is literally no reason in God's world for intelligent man to fear death, nature, or God; and only man by his stupid selfishness has supplied actual reasons, for fear of injustice, oppression, poverty, sickness, starvation or other vicissitudes of life.

The qualities of conscious fears of nature, death, and God are curable only by philosophy and religion, under the leadership of those rare souls who are true teachers. The fears of oppression, injustice, poverty, sickness, starvation and the other unnecessary hardships, sorrows and tragedies of life, we ourselves can cure; all it needs is men and women who are honest workmen and skilled mechanics in politics, economics, law and journalism. It is perfectly possible so to organize the affairs, activities and relations of mankind, as to render these fears, as obviously absurd as the fears of witchcraft, which is also reminiscent of that first Thanksgiving Day. Moreover, it is perfectly possible to do so within our own lifetimes, although we shall not live to see the full harvest, when in an age of pure thought and spirit, man shall learn to fear neither death nor nature nor his Creator; when he shall have learned that death is just advancement to a finer sphere of existence, that nature is his servant ever at command to make him possessed of creature comfort and security, and that his Creator is a divine will that seeks only the happiness and perfection of his creatures.

If one were to strike a balance sheet showing the debits and credits of present existence, as of this Thanksgiving, 1931, we should find, to use a financial phrase, that it reveals deficit operation; that the average human being gets so little out of life, that it is not worth living, just as a manufacturing business which continually loses money, is closed down either voluntarily or through bankruptcy. The world today is spiritually and financially bankrupt; it can be reorganized, just as it is so often found that the manufacturing plant which shows continuing losses, can be turned to profitable operation by a rearrangement of its man power, its methods or its business generally. Were it more popularly understandable, a most interesting and suggestive analogy could be struck between a failing railroad and the economic and social condition of the world today. Securities which have been issued in the form of mortgage bonds, secured through legal fictions by the blood and sweat and ambitions of mankind, must be retired by common stock in the welfare of the country. Preferred shares which have been created through artificial instruments of tariffs, currencies, cartels, monopolies and control of natural resources must be cancelled because they were never validly issued. And each of us must underwrite his share in a world of economic justice, political freedom and equality of opportunity.

It will serve, perhaps, a useful purpose, as we strike our balance sheet of this Thanksgiving Day, to enumerate the commonplace losses we, individually, and as people, suffer in the present operation of our affairs. It is a known and poignant enumeration, but we must, and shall set off against it, the matter wherein we are the possessors of great wealth, assets far in excess of our liabilities, if we will but use them correctly.

Few, if any nations or peoples today, know peace, security or economic stability. Countless millions of the yellow race are at war, which will decimate more human lives than all the wars of history, if it goes the length it threatens. One hundred and eighty millions of Russians live in the terror of a mad economic experiment. Eighty million Germans face civil war and the destruction of a people who have done so much scientifically, in music, medicine, and philosophy as almost to be called a civilization.

Millions of the British Empire face savage dangers in India and the dangers of economic annihilation at home, and these the people who for half a thousand years have been as the vanguard of human progress. Millions in the northerly countries of Europe and America are being sucked into the vortex of the whirlpool, and whole continents of less advanced people are amazed and helpless because their big brothers have gone down or are threatened with disaster. Already not less than twenty-five million unemployed tramp the streets in search of jobs and the means of mere subsistence, and war with all its horrors seems the one way out.

In the lives of individuals, we find religious faiths shattered and no longer the comfort of the afflicted—no longer the general hope that one may find through religion the yoke made easier or the burden lightened; home life is disrupted by the impassable divides of ideas between young and old and by a perversion of the truth about relations between men and women.

In the business life of the world we find the counsels of desperation and sharp practice pushing aside trade honesty and decency. In law we find wrong concepts of justice forcing extremes of injustice in the blind effort to escape from its own false fictions. In economics we find complete and irreconcilable confusion of doctrine. In social life we find gentle manners giving way to crude barbarities and the satisfaction of human appetites exalted as the chief end of existence and of one time sweet and sincere group relations of life.

From every quarter, in every journal, we hear and read of cases of want, suffering, domestic tragedy and hopeless difficulties which it passes human comprehension to understand how the victims endure when they can not probably eventually survive. For it must be remembered that in earlier centuries while men and women may have encountered crueler misfortunes and abuses, they were less sensate, just as the ox has not the imagination or sensitivity to gauge the horrors of the shambles, so earlier ages and even generations of men could submit to fiercer physical hardships and cruelties, with less actual suffering than comes to a university trained mother who becomes a poor charge and delivers her child to the care of an institution, because both must otherwise starve. It is less poignant for the Kaffir mother to see her offspring devoured by a lion. This we must not ever lose sight of in our efforts to construct a truly happy world; man no longer lives by bread alone, and merely to feed and stable him will not bring substantial happiness. Anyone who has had the doubtful luxuries of prosperity, so called, knows how quickly, for the average man at least, fades the joy of palatial living quarters, Roman baths, bacchanalian feasts and the ability to satisfy all the human appetites. It probably can not be accomplished, but it would go an immeasurable distance toward rectifying error in human thought, if the great majority could know that wealth buys nothing permanent and that in the heart of many who live in palaces there is a sad sort of envy of those who live in little houses, and are not the slaves of things.

It is not necessary to particularize the tragedies of human life; one can not escape their repeated demonstration; the daily press is an index of sorrows, and one has but to read the data of philanthropic agencies seeking funds, or of those organizations to prevent suicide or the annals of the neediest cases submitted to our compassion on occasions such as Christmas, to have indelibly impressed the conviction, that if such tragedies be a necessary part of human existence, then human existence is not worth while.

But it will be worth while, and tremendously worth while, if, as a first step, each of us, as he encounters these instances in his daily routine, for he will though he seeks them not, will stop to evaluate them in this way: is the tragedy and sorrow attributable to a mistake of nature, to a wilful punishment of God or even to the wrong, in the moral sense, of the individual afflicted? In no case will it be found that God or nature visited the damnation, and in most cases it will be found that no intentional or depraved moral iniquity of the sufferer was its moving cause. Perhaps this is the realization Christ had reached, when He taught us to pray "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." In the overwhelming majority of cases, it will be found upon an analysis that the tragedy, failure and sorrow had its cause in some man-made distortion of natural law and justice or the perversion of some natural quality or desire; in short, in the "system" which stupid, selfish men have created to break down the natural justice and equity of life. These are not the theses of a cloistered dreamer, but the observations of an intensely practical life, and one is inclined, like the rapid calculator or the mind reader of the vaudeville stage, to challenge any test: let him who will submit an instance where a life has missed the mark solely through acts of God or nature. Man has created his own damnation; and man must undo what he has done.

Now, let us turn to the other side of the balance sheet, for if this be all it shows, Thanksgiving Day would be only a fool's holiday. Of course, there is another side; not the silly enumerations which come out of official proclamations and orthodox pulpits. There is one great, undeniable blessing for which every thoughtful and unselfish mortal can be thankful, even the little cynics who sell their wares under smart titles to the intelligentsia. It is this: that there is in the world a Higher Power, call it what one will, incapable of error or injustice, which has out of the clay of the earth created a being, so amazingly endowed, that he has built a civilization from the raw materials of blood and bone and wood and stone, which in four thousand years has reached a point, where it is now demonstrable that an environment can be created for the soul of man, which will permit it to attain the ultimate things of the spirit, that have been spoken by the philosophers, the poets, the true priests and sincere mystics in that long dreary passage of man through the wilderness to this day, when we, who will see, can see the promised land of man's destiny. Were that story of the wilderness written in fact, without allegory, we would be amazed at the strange incongruity of events which led man through it and to its edge, where now he stands awaiting the dawn of his great day. We should find, perchance, the illicit passion of an Egyptian princess contributing to it, and as well, the utterly ruthless search for wealth on the part of a living American family; we should find the probably unbalanced mind of a sexually queer woman doing its part, against a later contribution by the most adept militarists of the world. We should find an accidental spark of countless ages ago, a definite factor, and a telegraphic message sent without wires contributing immeasurably. We should find a little case of movable wooden type doing more to advance civilization than all the learning of the Greeks. And perhaps above all, we should find the courageous faith, the patient endurance, the vast but humble labors of the masses, who amid all the spectacular movements of man's progress, through all the destruction and chaos these have caused, still planting the fields, caring for the little flock and herd, still protecting and pushing forward the family, in short, just "carrying on" until in God's good time there would come a world which he was not too dumb to dream of, though how it should come was beyond the capacity of his undeveloped mind. There is a great and magnificent justice in the dawning of the day, when in truth the meek shall inherit the earth.

To a Christ, to a Gautama, to a Savonarola, even to a Tolstoy, the ultimate happiness of man could be only a vision, not a serious intellectual conviction. This Thanksgiving Day, 1931, it is logically provable, as it has never been before. As long as the old order of things appeared to work, and the world to run on the basis thereof, it appeared reasonable that the principles upon which it was based were in harmony with the laws of nature and nature's God. If there is a single point at which it may be said that the fallacy of the old order appeared in unmistaken certainty, it has been in the year of this Thanksgiving Day. One after one old fictions have collapsed: the idea of hereditary rulership and empire, of the infallibility of the gold standard, of the power of governments to suppress wars and limit arms by treaty: ideas of man-controlled prosperity, of wages being related to capital produced, of the power of the church founded in the name of Christ to bring peace on earth, of the ability of present economic systems to prevent unemployment, of the efficacy of tariffs in protecting industry, of intricate machinery of commerce to avoid depression in trade, and so on to the end of a long chapter. It is in no sense a paradox, to say, for these things let us be thankful, for only out of an unanswerable demonstration of their futility and undependability, could the mind of the great majority perceive that these carefully wrought artifices were in violation of natural law and justice, and compelled of necessity to rebuild a world that conformed to the plans of the Creator.

And a third great and real cause of Thanksgiving is that instruments so simple are at hand with which to rebuild the world, that we are not compelled to wait the advent of supernatural genius in the form of man. The New World must be a world of common things, not in the sense in which that term is used to denote crudity or uncouthness, but common in that the affairs and relations of men will be ordered and conducted in conformity with the common virtues, common ambitions, common ideals and common sense of human beings which, at a given stage of advancement, are fundamentally uniform, whatever the race, creed or color. If a dozen people of widely diversified nations, even nations at different stages of advancement, were cast upon an uninhabited island, within a year we should find that they have had a working language, that they were not cooking twelve different kinds of meals at twelve different times each day, or living in twelve different kinds of habitation or making twelve different kinds of garments; and at the end of five years we should find them a fairly homogeneous tribe, and at the end of twenty-five years the beginning of an independent people.

The unfortunate thing about a good deal of organized human thought, study and research is that it has been too much concerned in trying to find out what man should be, what he should want, and as it were to thrust a theoretical straitjacket upon his destiny. Man knows what he wants; science and learning should be devoted to helping him get it.

An age of yearning is worth many ages of learning. Now this is not trick phrasing; it is a fact; it is the fact about Christ and Christianity. He put it in the hearts of men to yearn for a world of less selfishness and more love; for an existence which fitted one for eternal life. Out of that yearning came hospitals, public schools, charitable organizations and the like, which all the learning of Alexander and others had not produced. The unknown, parabolic Samaritan did more to relieve human misery than Socrates, Plato, Zeno and all the other Greek philosophers combined; a humble Mary, sister of Martha, did more with a wash basin to concentrate human minds on a true perception of values than the plays of Aristophanes and the meditations of Marcus Aurelius. Our learned have tried to be masters of life instead of its servants, and they have to a considerable degree held back civilization by denaturing it. The effect has been akin to that upon dogs: a modern hunting dog is trained with cruelly meticulous care, yet would starve to death in the woods; a wild dog of North Africa will bring to earth whatever it needs or wants. It is no sign of overpowering mentality to sneer at the simple desires of men and women; intricacy or incomprehensibility is not a concomitant of correctness. It sometimes seems, as if in the development of learning, as one studies the history of great centers of learning, that they were instituted for the purpose of confusing human thought and preventing the expression of the common qualities and desires of the majority of mankind. One sometimes fears, also, that this may have been true of organized religion, and that centuries ago in Machiavellian minds there was conceived the clever idea, that if learning and religion could be controlled, the masses of men would never learn that they all wanted the same things and were the rulers of the earth and that the power to get was theirs; perhaps this was but another phase of Alexander's motto: divide and rule.

In any event, the great majority of people have all essential things in common, and the time has come when they can and will find common expression. For this, then, have we great cause of Thanksgiving.

On this asset side of the balance sheet of life are many things, for which we are truly indebted to science and learning. When economic conditions permit their general use, we have the means of the almost incredible blessings of substantial freedom from disease and bodily and mental ailments, of the universal spread of information and knowledge, of the availability to all the human race of music, art and other media of culture, of sports and amusements unattainable by kings, of creature comforts undreamed of at the height of the most luxurious of regimes, of freedom from drudgery and demeaning labors, and other and lesser gifts, for all of which we owe thanks, even to those who in producing them made no pretense of altruism or love of mankind.

Thus we find that humanity, despite its present depression, is most impressively solvent, and the human race a great and going concern, of which past achievements will shrink into insignificance, the more quickly and completely because we have undergone the difficulties which we presently confront.

One wonders, too, if in years to come we may not look back to these days, if not this day, as having been very close to the beginning of man's finding a religion that rises above the maelstrom of doctrinal antagonisms of Catholic, Jew, and Protestant and doctrinaire quibblings of fundamentalists and modernists. For many reasons, repeatedly and intelligently pointed out in what has already been written by others, the average man is being forced to evolve his own religion, as he has been forced to work out his own laws and his own government. His faith in organized religion has been as completely shattered as was his belief in benevolent despotism and in the divine right of kings. In religion, as in the making of his laws and the construction of his government, whether he will or no, he finds he must trust himself; he is not yet sure that he dare—too many centuries has he been trained to accept religious doctrines and systems which have been made for him by professionals. But they have failed him. As autocracy in the guise of aristocracy failed him, so organized faiths in the guise of religion have failed him. No informed or prudent person will assert that the average man is less religious today than was his father or his grandfather, for to assert that is as foolish as to say that he requires less oxygen in his lungs than his progenitors. He may be getting less oxygen, but his needs are and always will be the same; and this is true of religious faith. The world may, as in the past, experience a revival of religion, but there is no such thing possible, if we speak in terms of the great majority, as a revival of religious faith; it never dies: the discontentment of the skeptical minority and the apparent indifference of the inarticulate majority are but the necessary premonitions of an advancement nearer true religion. There is nothing so disgusting to the healthy mind of the average man than ecclesiastical pin sticking, and it is true and not irreverent, to say the average man does not give a damn about the doctrine of the Trinity nor the authenticity of certain sections of the Bible and would today say Amen far more quickly to the declaration of faith of Thomas Paine in his Age of Reason than the preachings of the modern pulpit. Does any one now seriously think that masses of men understood or believed in the doctrine of the divine right of kings, born of illicit birth out of the Reformation and advanced by a royal incursion into the realms of logic? Does any one seriously believe that the average man and woman today goes home from work and discusses the latest arguments on the fundamentalist-modernist controversy? Does any one seriously suppose that the average man or woman ever heard of the Seven Keys on which the Holy Roman Empire was founded? What is more, and here is a much more pertinent matter, is there any satisfactory proof that the average man, woman and child today requires, as a condition precedent to his or her faith, that the issue of the personality of God be settled?

The average man cut the Gordian knot of all the theories of kings and their deputies, by a simple formula: let the people rule and a lot of great minds and ponderous ecclesiastics may shortly be amazed by the simplicity with which he solves his theological problem. Perhaps it will be as simple as this:

Praise and bow down before that incomprehensible power, called by whatever name you will, which created the soul of man!

Such a religious belief would meet every requirement of Socratic logic. Man seeks a God because of a quality within his soul; he seeks that God when there is no occasion for fear. Religion is not born of primitive fears, for it survives when fear is gone. The hunger of the soul of man can not be accounted for by physical creation; it can not be broken down or analyzed, much less can it be synthesized. By no scientific process can its origin be found; it can, therefore, be accounted for only upon the hypothesis that it is the manifestation of a nostalgic force which draws man back to the origin of his being. Not to get lost in mere words and fall into the vice of the theologians, let us try to find an analogy in the simple and known relations of life: we come near to it, in the worship which will go through life on the part of a strong, intelligent and thoughtful man for a mother who died in giving him birth, whom he never knew, of whom perchance he has never seen a picture or heard her personal attributes described.

Such a simple religion leaves no room for theological dogma or controversy, but finds in fact support in every theological system of religious belief. It adjusts itself to every doctrine held precious by men of all faiths. It squares with the facts of life; and finds its proof of a Creator in the works of his creation.

It meets the practical requirement of religious faith in providing a code of morals infinitely higher than the Ten Commandments, for the man who realizes that every act of his is to the glory or disgrace of that Higher Power to which he owes all, will measure his acts by rigid standards of conduct. And what is of most importance it brings to every man the conviction that he is an active, independent, but integral, factor in that great plan which created planets, beauty, music and all the inexpressibly fine and magnificent things of life; it makes him a partner in creation of tomorrow's world.

It answers the problem of eternal life, and though it be too simple to gain aught but sneers from professional ecclesiastics, this obvious faith can be demonstrated to any man who has seen the rose die and bloom again, after the fading and dissolution of its petals. There was quite enough theology for the average man in the lines, that we are told by the master minds of literature and ecclesiastics are neither good poetry nor good theology, which described June as the month in which

Every clod feels a stir of might,
An instinct within it that reaches and towers
And groping blindly above it for light
Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers.

Religion has but two objectives: to teach a man how to live and how to die; and the best religion is the simplest belief which accomplishes those ends.

It may be true as Montesquieu is related to have said to an idyllic youth, that the only way to get the world to adopt a new religion is to go out and be crucified for it. Nevertheless, a study of the history of religion and of comparative religions, quite readily results in a rather well-fixed and uniform set of requirements, one of which in this enlightened day amidst Western peoples can be safely eliminated, namely the necessity for its promoters to be either ascetic, mystic or fanatic: the rest of the requirements remain pretty much as they have always been, and if one were drawing up, as for a new building, specifications for a new religion, they would be these:

(1) It must be authoritative and certain.
(2) It must result in a code of morals or prescribed conduct which accords with the natural desires and impulses of man.
(3) It must be demonstrable, though not provable.
(4) It must harmonize with what is popularly understood in science.
(5) It must be intimate in that it touches the daily personal experience of the average human being.
(6) It must allow for and give a reasonable basis for prayer.
(7) It must give man a definite place in the world he lives in.
(8) It must explain death and future life.
(9) It must clear the obvious injustices and undeserved hardships and inequalities of life.
(10) It must be able to command compliance.
(11) It must have a scheme, a system of rewards and punishments to meet the pragmatic and, to the sensitive person, offensive question, "what is there in it for me?"
(12) It must reconcile with the faith of our fathers.

Does such a hypothetical "credo" as that previously stated, meet those requirements? Let us test it by Socratic questioning:

First: Can any normal mind doubt the authority or certainty of existence, of a Higher Power, uncontrolled by all the technique of science and human intelligence—let him weather a hurricane at sea; or survive a tornado on land; or live through a tropical pestilence. There is not a sound mind in the universe which doubts the existence of a Higher Power, that is, if one may use the expression, an extraterritorial sense of mandate, to which man must bow and to which men of the utmost intelligence and perception do bow, whether it be a Spencer, an Edison, an Eddington or a Newman—men do believe where they can not prove—what becomes of Edison's agnosticism when his dying breath formed the words "It is very beautiful over there." If the theologians had any kind of balance, they would realize that the one thing in the world which does not have to be proved, is the existence of a Higher Power, its authority or its certainty.

Second: Can any intelligent observer of life believe that any form or system of religions can change the nature of man? The collie released in the forest, goes native and becomes a wolf; his acquired traits never touched his fundamental nature. A religion that does not fit man's nature is no religion, for perfectly logical reasons: if a Higher Power created man, which is incontrovertible, certainly that Higher Power did not create a force, i.e., religious yearning, intended to change the character of His creation. Therefore, a religious creed which does not square with man's natural desires is bound to fail, as quite a few religious inventors, including Luther, Calvin, Swedenborg, Wesley, et al., would realize if they lived today. Christ's religion survived, because it was based on two verities: man's natural desire to live in harmony with his fellowman and his conviction that for the good man crucified or otherwise wronged, there must be recompense in future life. Buddha's religion survived because it was based on the Catalytic desire of man to return to its source of being. Mahomet's religion survived because it was based on man's conscious need of being guided through the mazes of human experience by a wiser hand and mind than his and so he identified the Prophet with God. But the narrow-minded systems of Luther, Calvin, Swedenborg, Wesley and Company have properly been scrapped because they assumed to improve on God's creation and make men conform to their prejudiced and narrow ideas. In passing, may it be remarked that some day it is hoped that the biographies of a lot of great men will be honestly rewritten in terms of the smallness of their character and the myopia of their vision.

A religious creed which finds God manifest in the worthy, commonplace works and desires of man, and not in their hysterical performances, will find accord by the great majority. Take in this matter of sex, which has more concerned the greatest church in the world than any single phase of human conduct; a religion of celibacy is just as foreign to the nature of man as the rites of Bacchus or the excesses of Lesbos. The natural force of it is too potent to be suppressed; it is too vital to be excessed. Every religious system must reckon with it; it is in a sense, God's acid test of creeds. The simple creed that the soul of man is the manifestation of God makes the act of procreation divine, and when once this concept is grasped by men and women, they would sooner destroy themselves than satisfy sex without love, for the average man and woman plays square. When two human beings join in the realization that that which they do is the unlimited deputation from the sole controlling power of planets, nature, life, beauty, power, intelligence, of His own prerogative, of creating human souls, perversion and prostitution will become as unthinkable for the average man and woman as to abuse the trust and confidence of a revered mother; they may do so in the heat of passion, but not wilfully, and when we get that far we shall have a pretty fair code of sex morals and a religion which squares, in this respect as in others, with man's nature. Examples might be multiplied. Only the refined and inbred pervert of capitalism and plutocracy robs other men when he has enough to insure his own necessities. Avarice for the average man is a matter of defense, not offense, just as the beast of the jungle will not destroy human life unless he is hungry or attacked, or comes from a tribe of maneaters who have developed the taste for human blood.

Third: Does any one seriously contend that modern science can not supply for the average man all the miracles necessary to demonstrate the existence of a Higher Power? The most astute religious system in the world from earliest days realized that in religion "man must," in the American phrase, "be shown." Miracles of the New Testament, bones of St. Ann and various other devices have met this requirement. Are they longer necessary when the Holy See can speak into a disc the size of a saucer and talk to virtually all the Catholics in the world? There has always been in the minds of theologians, ancient and modern, a confusion between demonstration and proof. Any one can demonstrate, for instance, that every man likes sugar; he certainly can not prove it. The average man does not want God's existence proved, he merely wants it demonstrated. Certainly a religious creed which finds its demonstration of God in the works of man has no great difficulties in this direction: how else does one explain the beauties of music, the sensation of symmetry in sculpture, the appeal of color and a hundred other miracles of everyday existence? Can physically animated carbon and water, which is all man's body consists of, write the Pilgrim's Chorus or paint the Angelus?

Fourth: Does any one seriously argue that present organized religions harmonize with what is popularly understood in science? Their organizers, to use a very common expression, bet on the wrong Revelation, by New Testament out of Old Testament. The youngest child that walks into the Museum of Natural History in New York City and views with amazement the suspended carcass of a bull whale, knows that, even by the grace of God, a man could not room in such a belly for a week. But you can satisfy the child that God exists, because another very little animal, called man, was given enough brains to capture that leviathan at will, in order to convert his fat into light that little boys and girls of other lands might be warm and have light to read and know of the great world in which they live and the great men and women who have lived before them.

Fifth: Can it truthfully be said that any religion which requires its maximum of value to be achieved by withdrawing from and being more or less at odds with the rest of human kind, is a real religion for those who have to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow in virgin forests, tilled fields or the marts of trade? A religion which can not explain to any man the meaning of his daily burdens and can not give to every man an equal hope of a just reward is unbalanced and unacceptable to the average man. Yet no religion has to date offered such a program. When a man who has worked all his life, under an industrial slave system, to send his boy to college, stands beside the corpse of his offspring, drowned in trying to save a fellow student, religion is a farce that can not give his soul an explanation, to which it can answer "Thy will be done." When you satisfy that father that the soul of the boy may have attained its ultimate usefulness here, and have developed so finely, in its few years, that it was ready for a greater experience in a less earthly world, you have answered, if you believe it and are sincere, the cry of his heart and soul "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

Sixth: Has any religion known to man given you or you an orthodox explanation of the purpose or efficacy of prayer? Let us not indulge in the analysis of their pathetic phrasing. One churchman, in a spontaneous moment, admits that prayers are useful as "a spiritual punching bag." Is any mind so absurd as not to realize that if God Almighty were to disrupt eternal laws to please the immediate need or whim of the suppliant we should have a world of chaos? How many fathers have prayed for a son and gotten a daughter, without realizing that we would be a race of idiots if such prayers were potent. How many a man and woman have knelt beside a sick bed and prayed that a loved one be spared not realizing, and this is expressing it very coldly to give it effect, that for God to interfere with a pneumococcus germ would disrupt the universe. What then is the meaning or basis of prayer: if man is the demonstration of God in a natural world, it is man's job to attain the uttermost possible, considering his qualities and the time and environment within which he lives; he is in his sphere, whether large or small, God incarnate: this is the true but daring concept of Christ's example; as the deputy of God he has the right to wire or cable home for instructions and support;

such is prayer and no true prayer goes beyond this, "God Almighty, make me fit to fulfill your trust in me."

Seventh: Can any rational human reconcile the doctrines of organized religion that man was made in God's image with the hymn extolling the death of Christ "for such a worm as I"? A Creator that was wise enough to make the ether resonant was too wise to make his principal creature a worm and give it no part in the making of the universe. The conclusive answer is that, subject to surgical control of certain organs, man may be indifferent to the Creator, and himself create bodies and embody human souls at will. It is no wonder that the average man has parted with such absurd religious systems. The first thing a wise creator would put in any man, as the wise employer puts in every employee, is a sense of self-respect, pride, importance, and responsibility. It is more certain that by His own act, God Almighty has permitted man to control the destiny of the universe—than the destiny of the universe to control man. Put this into a creed, and man holds his head high, will not do disgraceful things, because he is a partner of God.

Eighth: Has any known organized religion of the Western World made men free from fear of death or certain of the future life? Do men not go, in the poet's phrase, as slaves scourged to a dungeon? A religion that can't prepare men for death, as has been said before, is a farce. A religion which can not convince men that a future life is necessary and inevitable, is a lie. What have existent religions in the Western World taught man: the inspired doctrine, inspired not by God but by the exploiters of human beings, that the more they suffer here, the more submissive they are, the greater will be the rewards in heaven. A more damnably clever propaganda could not have been evolved to suppress the masses. That is the *raison d'être* for Crucifixes of the Bleeding Christ in peasant villages. If man is a partner of God, the partnership is for eternity and the soul of man can not die. This simple fact explains death and eternal life.

Ninth: Can it be, by any technique of sophistry, argued with conviction to the average man that he lives in a just world, that his miseries are his just due, and that God ordained them? Yet he lives amid and faces the vilest of injustice, he sees others rewarded for their errors. Here is the most vibrant point at which the church clashes with life: we shall leave it, until we have completed our category and then face it squarely.

Tenth: Can it be said that any existent religious sect can command compliance? Jews are not circumcised for social reasons; Catholic girls become prostitutes for economic reasons; Protestants deny school children religious instruction because they fear to offend other sects. In religion there is no room for diplomatic or social compromise. It is as essential that an organized religion shall be invariably right as that a yardstick shall measure thirty-six inches. No religion today is unwilling to compromise. Either a man believes or he disbelieves; he is either right or wrong: such is not the conviction or policy of any established church, except in a sneaky, surreptitious way. It is not surprising that the average man distrusts all of them; he does not crusade for facsimiles of the Holy Grail. But when a faith says to man, you are the deputy of your own life and to the extent you affect lives around you of that Eternal Power which made you and all things, he is as conscious of the power to command him, as he is in the organization of the army or industry. No one would ever suggest that the Pope at Rome is lacking in the recognition of God's power to command. Nor will man be so lacking, when he is himself the Pope of God in his own life and all the sphere of his dominance or influence.

Eleventh: Regrettable as it may be, does any observant person who knows the world believe that ethical concepts will move the average man to conviction or action? It too often seems true that every man has his price, in some form or other, and you convince that man to adopt a course or change his course only when you have shown that there is to him more plus than minus. This is the despicable part of human nature, that which disheartens idealists, makes pessimists, and causes one to feel that there is no hell hot enough to punish the average man for his sordid, stupid pragmatism, his almost complete lack of true motive, his pig-like desire "to get more than his share out of the universal swine trough." But we must remember this has been bred into him by causes beyond his control, and, if once one can reach the conviction that this is an acquired and not an inherent quality of the average man, he dares dream of a better world. If it is a native or inherent quality, avaunt, mankind.

Perhaps, this is the riddle of the Sphinx. But one must take one position or the other, and if he be convinced that this sordid, *quid pro quo* selfishness of mankind, is an acquired trait, he will tolerate it and wait until it is overcome; otherwise, mankind is capable of no real religion. For the present, at least, any new religion must be prepared to answer that offensive, disgusting question of the average man, "what is there in it for me, where will it get me?" It requires patience and extreme tolerance to resist a desire to terminate the present and eternal existence of such a questioner; but he must be answered. It gets him this: a position of respect and importance he or his forebears have never occupied in human existence; unworthy as he now is, it makes him a partner in the world's destiny, and thereby brings to him the power of aiding in the establishment of a world wherein his children will have a nobler inquiry than "what is there in it for me?"

Finally: Does any one even partially familiar with the religious history of man believe that there can be established in one generation a faith totally divorced from or at variance with the traditional faith of a people? The smart religious leaders have always woven into their creeds enough strands of older religions to make them seem something like the old. The prayer mat may be of a different size but at least reminiscent of an old design. This is conspicuously illustrated in Christianity, Mahometism, Mormonism, and the most modern religion, Christian Science. One is inclined to say of all religions as they succeed each other, what was trenchantly said by an old philosopher of the work of a newcomer, there is nothing good that is new, nothing new that is good. This remodelling of old religious faiths into new forms is due sometimes to sheer charlatanry, sometimes to subconscious mental cerebration but is always indicative of the truth that man's religious needs and fundamental beliefs are much the same, century upon century.

Such a simple creed as here indicated does accord with man's basic religious experiences and desires. The idea of a theocratic personal God was the invention of the Jews, and while the Greeks personalized their gods, it was but a form of animism. On the whole it can be said that much the greater part of the human race for much the greater part of human history have worshipped a higher power as a spirit or as spirits rather than embodied forms. While for a few the question of comprehending, in the sense of drawing a picture of God, seems vital, for the great majority they will worship God in spirit, if they be assured that they are worshipping him in truth.

Again in worshipping the power which created the human soul and finding the demonstration of its existence and glory in the works of man, there is a recurrent trend in the history of human practices of deifying men after death and disappearance; this is illustrated in the Greek mythology and the Roman Catholic sainthood; so that the great majority depart not far from the ways of God in finding God in man; they merely, as it were, democratize the concept of God which has existed for centuries in pluraltheism. Finally that man should find God in himself is perhaps the most ancient tendency of religious faith and experience. That is what man has usually done where he has formed a religion involving a personality of his god or gods: he merely deified himself without being conscious of it. It was this inversion of thought which accounts for the Biblical assertion that God made man in his image and it is clearly seen in the extremely human and unpleasant, to us, attributes which the Hebrews laid upon their Jahveh or Jehovah, and the Greeks upon their family of Olympus. It has always been true, though not perceived by many, that the only thing man could be sure about worshipping was the manifestation of God in those qualities of his own being which could not possibly have a physical origin. The time is very likely ripe for the formulation of that simple truth into a religion, which shall teach man that worship consists in conduct truly representative of his soul's quality and communion with and devotion to the Creator of his soul. Philosophers have ever found it difficult to draw the line between mind and soul, between will and spirit; perhaps the average man knows this better than he can be told. Things of the mind and will are the acts of himself: in things of the soul and spirit he is but the agent of God. A mechanical illustration indicates the average man's view if he has thought one out or summarizes what he will say, if he be suddenly asked this question: in the old manually operated switchboard the connection was accomplished through a human act, in the modern, automatic switchboard by electrical impulse. In most of his affairs man makes his own connection, but there are events in every man's life where if he thinks about it all, at the time or after, he concludes that it was but the impulse from a greater power than his own which accomplished the connection. This is the thing we familiarly call inspiration in poetry and art; which the classicists termed the divine afflatus, and which exists in those rare companionships of life where one soul finds its true affinity in another. It follows, then, that this simple article of faith we have set forth is built upon common experiences and is not alien to the things which men have always believed.

We must turn now to the obstacle referred to and earlier passed by, which has been the rock upon which every religious faith has split, which had not behind it an assumed revelation or claimed supernatural command. If it be seriously propounded that such a simple creed as here suggested meets the religious requirements of man, it is an entirely natural question to ask, why should it not have found expression and acceptance centuries ago. To this the answer is that it could not find acceptance then, and will not find acceptance now, and never will find acceptance in the future, until and unless the average man can be satisfied that, upon sound reasoning, it can be reconciled to the cruel injustices of the world in which he lives. We approach now an intensely difficult assertion, if it be true, and one that is not easy of exact expression: man's religious beliefs have been intentionally distorted and he has been deliberately taught false doctrines to conceal the conspiracy of his fellowmen to cheat him out of God's heritage and to convince him that he was not a legitimate son of God. To the average man it was necessary to smother his intuitive religious faith. This is a terrific indictment of organized religion but can be briefed so conclusively as to preclude its denial. Stated simply, history shows that as soon as primitive man discovered that he was more strong and cunning than the rest, or as soon as it appeared that the combined strength and resourcefulness of a few was able to control the many, the native instinct for leadership which exists in every herd or pack of animals asserted itself, but with the dangerous added element of imagination with which the brute was not endowed. Imagination permitted the projection of that dominance through might far beyond the natural leadership of the tribe and afforded the basis for that unbroken system of exploitation which finds expression today in the commonplace of mere children working for a pittance in great department stores of which the owners are leaders in religion and civic welfare. For four thousand years it has been necessary to find ways and means of keeping exploited masses content with their obviously unjust lot in life: no more effective means could be found than to teach them that, by divine command of an inhuman and implacable God, it was their lot in life and, if this was a bit incomprehensible, to "sell" them the idea that through these divinely-imposed cruelties, they were truly blessed by being allowed to store up treasures in another world. With this clue, read the dogma, prayers and hymns of organized religion, look at their paintings, their symbols, their art, their literature, read the sermons of their hirelings, whom they have always taken care to feed and clothe well, however the masses suffered. One of the most effective methods in logic is that referred to in the words, concomitant variation. Where one finds in a series of events, natural or historical, the same recurrent conditions, it irrefutably argues to a common cause. In "putting over" these ideas upon the masses, and it does no harm to use simple, even coarse, language when it is totally expressive and where truth is so necessary, there was the obvious and quite fundamental difficulty that they were not true, that they were not half true, that there was no truth in them. They were a lie, as was the divine right of kings. Therefore, they had to be imposed on the masses by the pretense of the most absolute authority and the threat of the most horrible and prolonged punishment. There was but one way, in an age when men feared the supernatural, to organize this fear, which was done and it was called religion, and later the church. Here then we have the reason for all the grotesque images of God, as the God of wrath, visiting the sins of the parents on the third and fourth generations, implacable, bloodthirsty, drowning humanity in a flood, authorizing murder of the uncircumcised and all the vicious threats in which the Old Testament abounds; finally damning the doubtful or obstreperous to the eternal fires of a hell so cruel as to pass the descriptive power of other hired men in the forms of poets and painters. Read the history of religion with this clue in mind and see how many uncertainties it clears up. The exploitation of man was an almost perfect crime, it must have been to continue for thousands of years, and it was aided, guided and abetted by the best brains of all ages, clergy, lawyers, painters, poets, writers, philosophers and swordsmen. But like every nearly perfect crime, it is the easiest of proof, when once discovered, because every part of it fits perfectly into every other part, and here we find religion, law, temporal and spiritual authority, mysticism, art, so-called science all fitted together in a kind of jig-saw puzzle which when put together makes the doleful figure of The Man with the Hoe.

It is inevitable that religion so founded should fail, when enough men gained enough intelligence, despite the conspiracy to keep them ignorant, to see through it. Once seen through, all the theological exegesis and discussion of the centuries becomes clearly counterfeit reasoning. This is not to accuse tens of thousands of devoted clergy and churchmen with being counterfeiters; they were the stupid accessories to a plot of which they knew nothing and were too sincere and trustful to suspect; let them depart in peace.

It has been a perpetual lie in organized religion which has, consciously or unconsciously, led to the repeated assertion of philosophers, that no religion can be established among men except by resort to the authority of a supernatural power, supposedly imposed on man through some mystical revelation. But those same philosophers argued, and that intelligentsia which they have spawned still argue, that man could not create his own government. They were wrong in that; they are wrong in their assertion that man can not create his own religion.

But before he does that or he can be expected to do that, there must be a terrific excision from human thought that the cruelties of existence have origin or acquiescence in the will of God. It seems too simple to require answer, but the question is repeatedly asked, why if God is all powerful does he permit these unjust things to exist? Could a universe exist if different laws operated on different days or laws were suspended or changed to meet the exigencies of the moment? Could a football game be played if the rules might be varied at any moment of the game? Out of matter, God created man; it is not our business to inquire whether this was necessary or wise; man is here. Created as he was, at the beginning only a brute endowed with the seeds of intelligence and the power to reason, he must like any other germinated thing be left to grow according to his nature. Now, again, it is not for us to know why a power great enough to create a universe did not see fit to create man as a perfected thing. Suffice it. He did not; He chose to let him grow. For that growth, He fixed certain laws, and, since the essence of the creation was to create a being with a will and intelligence to find and make his place in the universe and eventually to dominate it, those laws, when laid down, could either be observed or broken. To have laid down laws which could not be broken would have been a gesture; to create a being endowed with reason but without the power to express his reason in action, would have been an empty performance. If man was to be more than an automaton, he must have the power to do wrong and to go wrong. He did go wrong, primarily and eventually, by forming the idea that the strong would be happier by preying upon the weak. He became the fiercest of animals, for he hunted when he was not hungry, he robbed when he could not use what he stole; he killed for the love of killing and chose to lie and pervert truth and natural laws. Perhaps it was necessary that to conquer his dangerous surroundings and subdue the terrors of the earth, to twist from rocks and forests the materials for the progress of his kind and to advance the environment of the race to the point where the mind could conceive beauty, good, truth and justice, he had to be just such a fierce, cruel, cunning, immoral animal, at least, the leaders whom he followed. It is not illogical to accept such a premise, it explains much, even the strange careers of the captains of finance and industry in the era now drawing to a close. Nor is it any feat of logic to find in such development of man sound evidence of the wisdom of the Creator, who could endow brute force with a spark of intelligence that could leap from the primitive man to a Christ in two thousand years. The unforgivable wrong was of man's invention to do these things in the name of God, and to sanctify them, as best he could, by creating God in his own image, as an implacable deity of blood and infinite cruelty.

It is this age old confusion in the mind of the average man which must be cut out, before true religion will replace it. This excision can not be done by creeds, formulas, articles of faith, preaching, sects or churches. It must be done by demonstration. The perhaps necessary cruelties and injustices must first be removed and when the human race has breathed free for a generation or two, then will come those leaders who will formulate for man his intuitive religion. For us it is to remove these cruelties and injustices. Much has been done, in this direction, far more than we are apt to appreciate in the pessimism of the moment: Man does breathe free of religious and political persecution; he can think for himself, he can govern himself—simply said but what a vast human achievement. He can not yet breathe free of economic injustice and still endures the cruelties of social and legal fictions, which however necessary they may have been in advancing civilization through earlier ages, are no longer necessary, justifiable or tolerable. When these are gone, the great majority will know that the true purpose of religion is not to reconcile man with a wrathful God or to set up a system of rewards and, through threats and promises, to compensate him for subjection to cruelties and injustice. And then and not till then, will man worship God in spirit and in truth.

CHAPTER II

COUNTRY

The word patriotism means love of country, but that involves a definition of love, which is undefinable, though it must in every case include confidence, admiration and loyalty.

The idea patriotism conveys is more than mere love of country. Americans and English ordinarily speak of the mother country. Germans and others of the fatherland. But father or mother, the idea conveyed is something more than mere loyalty to a flag and could we express all that is implied in the word patriotism we should find that we had used many words and still not have satisfied ourselves that we had written all that the word means. The basic idea is, however, clear to all of us; patriotism is that attitude a man holds towards his country, which combines the admiration of his father's strength with devotion to his mother's love.

It will be a shock to both their friends and enemies to say that a legitimate offspring of patriotism is socialism and sovietism. This is perfectly clear on a moment's reflection. Love of country necessarily implies confidence in one's country; in times of emergency and danger every citizen turns to his country as *parens patriae,* to see that he is clothed and fed. During the Great War the Government of the United States was for all practical purposes, socialistic; fuel, food, railroads, factories, etc., etc., were under government control and operated at its direction and mandate. Socialism is older than Moses, Sovietism is as ancient as Jacob, and no really new concept of government has arisen since Aristotle, who died in 409 B.C.

The human race would save itself a great deal of wear and tear, suffering and disappointment, if it could realize that very few schemes are new and that God Almighty in His great plans for all of us is never in a hurry. No human mind or all the human minds of a given era, that loved mankind and sought to lift it to a higher plane of human happiness, could have evolved so simple and unfailing a plan as God in His infinite wisdom and patience now reveals before the eyes of this singularly blessed generation. Out of the primitive man He had first to make a brute strong enough to dominate the animal kingdom and thereby the physical world; out of that primordial brute He had to make a human being who could understand law, love and the things of the spirit; with that dull creature as His only instrument He had to convert the vast physical forces of the world into implements whereby billions of men could be fed, clothed, civilized, educated and cultured; He had to keep alive in the hearts of those men the savage instincts of war, competition, love of power and love of wealth, until the physical forces of the world were conquered and harnessed for man's happiness, and then in one great movement to destroy those savage instincts, by letting capitalism destroy itself, as it did in the Great War, and leave us, who are the heirs and beneficiaries of countless centuries and immeasurable suffering, at the *dawn* of that tomorrow, on which our dreams can come true, if we will but be patient and have faith in His Eternal Plan, and not in the little foolish five-year plans of our self-seeking fellowmen. We stand at the threshold of the day when we alone can impede our own destiny, to be truly and substantially happy.

Forms of government play really a very little part in man's happiness. If we are fit for it, we would get on with no government at all; just as some universities find with their mature students, an "honor system" takes the place of compulsory attendance at class rooms and watchfulness against cheating at examinations. But no one is fool enough to believe that it would work in grade schools. The world is still of the primary school age, and it will be a long time before all nations can adopt the "honor system" of government, and some nations will reach it long before others. The great majority can be just as happy under an absolute monarchy, perhaps more so, than under a so-called democracy, provided the monarch were a very wise, just and benevolent ruler. It is not then a matter of form or theory of government which controls the happiness and welfare of men, and some day we shall be wise enough to know that changing the form of government or its administration amounts to very little. In this respect, religion and patriotism are alike, one can be good and happy, whatever his religious belief, if it is sincere, whatever his government, if it is honest.

The only need of government is to bridle those selfish, savage instincts which men had to develop when they were fighting to master the world so it could be controlled and directed for man's true and substantial happiness. There should be no hatred or contempt for those fierce leaders in war and commerce, in industry and finance, even in religion, who, living up to the light that was in them and meeting the necessities of the world as it existed in their day, believed that "might made right" and the ultimate appeal in all human problems was to force. They filled their destiny in God's Eternal Plan for man's happiness, and, if they were cruel, ruthless and stupid, they did their job as best they knew how. It would be a healthy thing for dreaming reformers, parlor socialists, pink anarchists and university theorists to realize that if their ilk had controlled the destinies of mankind in the rugged days, behind us, we should find half the human race starving and cold, living in darkness without heat and, to a very considerable degree, without health and without morals. Morgan was the Magnificent in what he did for this country, if not in the way he did it. If we in our day will do our work as well as the despots, the savage kings, the ruthless masters, the financial pirates, even the industrial barons, have done in theirs, we shall in a single generation create a new world, by using for the benefit of mankind the things which their savage, selfish instincts wrought for mankind, accidentally perhaps, so far as their private motives were concerned, but not accidentally in God's Eternal Plan. In the economy of God, nothing is ever wasted. Our condemnation of the wrongs and atrocities of the past must ever be restrained by an appreciation of the times when such men lived and the problems they faced. If the present vendors of the ideas of the so-called intelligentsia had lived and been able to "sell" their ideas to our forebears, faced by the tremendous physical, economic and social problems they were, the human race would have unanimously committed suicide. If those branded as the vicious men of the past had not been dumb as brutes, they would not have dared to attempt the things they accomplished; because they were dumb as brutes they used brute methods, millions had to suffer, but they suffered that we "might live more abundantly." If one considers the facts of life and not its cambric-tea theories, one cannot but realize that this dawn of our new day could not have come sooner; could not have come at all, except because of the efforts of those men we now condemn and the suffering of millions upon millions of our forebears, who died that we might enjoy an era of freedom with physical comforts and facilities for the masses, undreamed of and unattainable by any earlier generation.

The contrast between the past and present in the leadership of civilization can excite no great admiration of ourselves. If their code was primitive and their methods stern, the leaders of other days knew where they were going; ours do not. They were dishonest and selfish in their cause, but probably less selfish and dishonest, morally, than our present leaders. The vision of conquest, the dream of founding empires, the desire even to enslave a nation or a people, to control vast wealth and power is actually less selfish and far more attractive than the miserable effort of some half-baked reformer to set himself up as a Messiah, because he wants to hear his fellowmen sing Hosanna.

A great philosopher was once asked by a man who had "invented" a new religion, how he could get it adopted, and he was told "by getting crucified for it." Just as a religion is poppy-cock which does not prepare men to die, so the zeal of a reformer is pusillanimous piddling, if he has not that resolute faith and self-abnegation which will incite him to get crucified for it. The courage of the men who dared conquer in the past, though they rode over millions, stirs our admiration, totally lacking for those who sit in cloistered halls or write "pink" literature to stir up the masses to misguided violence.

The essence of all patriotism is expressed in the Latin maxim we put over our armories *"Pro patria mori."* We put it into our national hymns, and men do die for their country, and God grant they ever shall be ready to die for it. It is no longer necessary, happily, to die for one's God. It is rarely necessary to die for one's home, and so of the English formula "for God, for country and for home," the one remaining part of sacrifice is for one's country and that ere long, perhaps now, has passed in the irresistible working of God's Eternal Plan.

World peace cannot be built out of internationalism nor does it require the surrender of patriotism. Just as the best husband and father makes the best citizen, so the best citizen of his own country makes the best citizen of the world. The logical end of patriotism at home, is peace abroad. If every nation were truly patriotic, international wars would cease, for patriotism, if it be real, is intelligent, not emotional.

In relations between nations, as in relations between classes and masses, selfish stupidity, due to the limitations of the time, has created what are now unnecessary barriers to international good will and peace between nations. Nations have felt, and properly so, according to the light of their day and the problems they faced, that armaments, currency systems, tariffs, debt collections, etc., were necessary for their self-preservation and progress. Enlightened patriotism now knows differently and again, those of us who have survived the calamities of this generation, are the heirs of a new day in international good will and happiness. No one can disavow God or doubt the destiny of man who senses the amazing consummation of His Eternal Plan for man's happiness. In two decades, with a minimum of human suffering, considering the tremendous progress it promises, not alone have we seen age-old and in their time necessary concepts of capitalistic exploitation riven forever asunder, but, as well and without duplication of the suffering attendant upon the first operation, we have seen century old ideas of selfish and stupid nationalism destroyed. It remains now to be rid only of the Bourbon type of mind among ostensible leaders of men and nations, and that will pass in another generation. Four thousand years of civilization have come to climax and consummation before our very eyes under that Eternal Plan of God Almighty, which so overwhelms the little schemes and five-year plans of men. There is a fine phrase of a Scotch writer based upon the common experience of the husbandman—"The world must be burnt over, so that it may grow green again."

When we have gotten through the difficulties of the stupendous changes we are witnessing, we shall know how foolish were our fears that men must starve because of machine production, that the world was producing more than it could consume, that population had increased so that it must be cut down by wars and plagues, and all the other foolish fears which come in times of stress and panic. There are literally hundreds of millions of people who are underfed, underclothed and under-provided for. To illustrate, in America there are twelve million radios installed, with a population of at least twenty million families. In

Russia, China and Africa there are at least one hundred and fifty million families who should have and some day will have access to the intelligence and music of the world by this means. There are hundreds of millions of men who do not know the comfort of a fifty-cent razor and how many millions of women who have not the legitimate luxury of a powder puff. If these things seem trifling, of such is international commerce constituted. It is not trifling, at least, to call attention to the millions of starving Chinese and our wheat going begging at fifty cents a bushel. Surely we in America with our innumerable comforts from ice boxes to television have no such egocentric idea that what we have others do not need and should not want. It is as idle then to accept the idea of overproduction and human starvation and physical misery, as it would have been to have said leprosy must sweep the world, small pox be uncontrolled and the black plague devastate where it will. The world has not yet begun either to produce or to consume; it has only begun to learn the physical blessings and creature comforts, God in His Eternal Plan provided for human happiness, not along the Hudson and the Thames and the Seine, but along the Yangtze-kiang, the Volga and the Nile.

It is an interesting fact that few ever conceived that it would be well to instruct the youthful mind in patriotism. No university has a chair or course in patriotism. It is as strange as that until very recent times no one ever thought it necessary to instruct children in sex matters. How stupid civilization has been: here are two of the vital factors in every human existence, patriotism, the right relation to one's country and fellowmen; and sexual matters, the right relation in the commonest association of life. Without the one the race cannot go on with any degree of improvement, without the other, the race cannot go on without war and destruction. But no one has ever deemed it necessary to include both in the formal education of a child.

Had there been any education in the subject of patriotism, we should have all learned that it involves the operation of the mind as well as the heart. We should have avoided the frightful confusion which now exists on the whole subject of government, political economy and foreign relations. We might have voted intelligently about the League of Nations, whether by chance we hit it right or not, and certainly we should have known what to do about war debts and not accepted the massive logic of a great statesman, "They hired the money, didn't they." We should have avoided the ridicule of seeking to defeat socialism by an appeal to patriotism, for we should have known that socialism is the legitimate offspring of patriotism; for patriotism involves the idea that the state is *parens patriae,* capable and responsible for looking out for us all in times of danger; in times of war, as indicated, we all become socialistic in that sense; it is inevitable that to many minds, viewing the misery of mankind in times of peace, the idea should seem perfectly logical that the cure will be to let the state manage human relations, and such is the essence of socialism. Had we educated ourselves in patriotism, we should have known the shocking fallacies of socialism when it pretends to break down individual initiative, and its amazing inconsistency when advanced as an international doctrine.

Second only to true religion, patriotism, intelligently guided, offers the most immediate remedy for the causes which result in the general unhappiness of mankind. It may be rarely noted, because it is an unpleasant fact of life, that more men prove good patriots than loyal husbands or devoted fathers. There are very old reasons for this: to the male the upbringing of a family has never been, except in rare instances, the major motive in life. It has been an incident, chiefly indulged in to satisfy his physical desires and gratify his pride. Taken by and large, man is too close to his primordial ancestors not to be still affected by the instinct to hunt, then to hunt in gangs or groups, then as provincials and finally as nationals. This has been recently illustrated in Corsica, where age-old feuds between bandit tribes were forgotten when a common enemy appeared. Again it is an unpleasant fact that for one man who will desert his regiment, there are thousands, not a few in the regiment, who will desert their families.

It is the essence of all true reform to take men as they are and build new and better things out of them, rather than the sentimental idea that they are first to be converted into something other than what they are and better than what those particular individuals can ever possibly be.

Unhappily, since the days of Plato, the idea has gone abroad among the masses of men, perhaps as a swing-back from his too theoretical idealism, that patriotism and politics are separate, distinct and unrelated matters. Happily, few men and few generations, considering any considerable segment of the civilized world, are ever called upon to demonstrate their patriotism, as they understand the word; whereas, politics is recognized as a persistent and ever present factor in life, whether viewed as a means of livelihood and exploitation by some, or as a necessary evil by the great majority, or as a field of service by those rare souls who see it aright.

Observance of our fellowmen of different races and nations, of different social strata and economic circumstance, leads to the conclusion that patriotism is rather more sincere than most human motives, because it remains chiefly a matter of emotion; and that when it loses its emotional quality it becomes dormant—hence war moves on a higher spiritual plane than peace and subconsciously men respond to war with more welcome than they admit, because it provides an outlet for their emotional side, which is carefully suppressed in prosaic times of peace. If, then, we can identify the emotion of patriotism with the practice of politics, we shall find an instrumentality of human progress of great force and importance.

We live in a time when man is experimenting with government more than ever before in history. Tremendous changes have taken place in human thought in this direction and it will help to clearer viewpoints to consider "the issue of the isms" as it is being fought out, generally peacefully, in the present day.

The illustration is familiar that for a dog to bite a man is not "news", but if a man bit a dog, it would be reported in every newspaper. For a king to abdicate in these parlous times ceases to be news, at least first page news between sun and sun; for an emperor, king or sultan to be recalled to the throne of Russia, Spain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Greece or Turkey, would have the world by its ears, and for the titular rulers of the few surviving monarchies to announce a policy or assert other than a social prerogative would amaze mankind. Yet a decade ago our own country had only concluded its treaty of peace with Germany and Western civilization lay prostrate among the still unburied dead of a war precipitated solely by the stupidity, fear and jealousy of ruling and related princes or at least of cabals for which they must take full responsibility. Until four years earlier an absolute monarchy had governed one hundred eighty million people in Russia. In less than fifteen years twelve European monarchies have disappeared, and the last of the Bourbons, disregarding the maxim of his progenitors that a king can do no wrong, admitting that a king can make mistakes, now yields a rule of fifteen centuries, with the resignation and humility of an undesirable tenant dispossessed from the palace of Madrid, *Mirabile visu*—what that war had wrought, which lips, now still, told America in 1916, was a war to make the world safe for democracy. History has already written that it was a war between autocrats and it destroyed autocracy; history may yet write that it destroyed, as well, democracy. History has already written that it was a war fostered by capitalism, and it destroyed capitalism; history may yet write that it destroyed, as well, socialism. Ochlocracy rules the Western World, its government, its laws, its economics, and ochlocracy is the last phase but one in that strangely accurate Aristotelian cycle; from autocracy to anarchy.

Nothing so much concerns mankind in the mass as government. It was government which, with a draught of hemlock, did to death the greatest mind mankind has possessed; it was government which crucified the noblest being of creation; it was government which tortured to the grave the most significant brain in the realm of science; it was government which bound countless millions to human slavery; it was government which barred billions from the light of learning; it was government which damned humanity to woes unspeakable since the days of Akhenaten.

But, it has been and is government which has brought mankind from savagery to civilization in a very short period, if we attribute two billion years to the existence of this planet, a million and a quarter years to the known age of man, and four thousand years to organized society. Government has expiated its crimes in the achievement of political and religious freedom and equality before the law; it will yet attain economic justice.

Of this thing government, so vital to every human soul, the average man and woman knows nothing, else it would not be involved in confusion of thought and terminology. That which to the mind of Aristotle was conjecture, to Hobbes, Locke, Austin and Rousseau, speculation, by Hamilton, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson seen through a glass darkly, is today revealed by the light of the everlasting flame, kindled by the millions who died in a war, of which they did not, and could not, know its ultimate meaning.

Political theory has classified all government into: that of the absolute ruler, *the one over many,* the monarch, be he king, the can-ning man, as Carlyle points out, or tyrant, the man of mastery, through cruelty and intrigue, or benevolent despot; that of *the few over the many,* the oligarchy, be it of aristocracy, those by quality best able to rule, or plutocracy, those by wealth able to purchase power, or of feudalism based on military supremacy; *that of the many, or majority,* be it the commonwealth, the republic or other type of representative government. Democracy belongs in the second group, if by democracy is meant what Aristotle meant and what democracies have in fact been. There are then but three recognized types of government denominated monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. The Greeks classed tyranny as a depraved form of monarchy, oligarchy as a depraved form of aristocracy, and democracy as a depraved form of commonwealth. It will be seen that anarchy and ochlocracy are excluded: the first, because it is literally the absence of government, and the latter, either because no distinguished student of politics has conceived it as a workable theory of government; or, because the demarcation between ochlocracy and democracy, on the "right", and ochlocracy and anarchy on the "left" have heretofore seemed too obscure and vague for definition.

As there have been but three types of government recognized in the vast amount of writing which has been done on the subject, so have there been but two theories of the origin of government accorded cognizance by political writers; for brevity, these may be termed the *great man theory* and the *social compact theory*. By the former is meant an origin in a single lawgiver, such as Hammurabi, Lycurgus, Solon, Moses, Numa Pompilius, and Alfred, premised, of course, on a declared or implied recognition of supernatural inspiration, amusingly illustrated in our country by Joseph Smith and his golden plates of the Book of Mormon. By the latter is meant a metaphysical contract by which according to Rousseau, "each of us put in common his person and his whole power under the supreme direction of the general will." Neither theory is historically demonstrable.

The monarchic type of government has developed no new specimen since the days of King John, the beginning of constitutional monarchy. The oligarchic type has, in actual operation, revealed no new specimen since the death of Julius Cæsar. The democratic type has not diversified itself since the French Revolution, if we recognize ochlocracy as a coeval type.

It is at this point that a redefinition of government should be made, by discarding the triple classification heretofore recognized. Government is and always has been of only two types: autocratic or ochlocratic, and has but one origin, the consent or assent of the governed.

There has never been a tyrant strong enough to rule against the will of the majority of his subjects. While despotism rarely, if ever, has had the consent of its victims, it has had their assent. It has been seriously contended by powerful thinkers, among them Aristotle, Hobbes and Grotius, finding their proof in the actual facts of human history, that certain men are endowed with superior talents and thus designated by nature to rule: that, as one has expressed it, some men are born into the world booted and spurred and others saddled and bridled ready to be ridden; out of such doctrine comes Caligula's inference that kings are gods, that men are brutes, likewise the common analogy of the herdsmen and the herd and the viewpoint that the human race belongs to a hundred men rather than that these hundred men belong to the human race. It was recently suggested that three score men ruled America and produced its prosperity; a century ago it was argued that slavery was established for the benefit of the governed. This method of reasoning is as ancient as Plato's Republic, and it is true that in the actual conduct of human kind there appear strong grounds for the argument that monarchy is the natural form of government. Whatever doubt may previously have existed, it is certainly now clear that monarchy exists only as long as it has the assent of the governed. Yet the masses have today no greater inherent power than in any earlier age. Obviously some new factor has entered the situation or some old element has changed. Lord Dunsany's play of King Argimenos and his warriors hints at a solution: that the masses have been aroused by a symbol of their own powers. Such is not the answer. Monarchy is not only the natural but necessary form of government until the governed are fit to govern themselves. By accident of history, geographic isolation, character of colonization and racial admixture, that point was first reached in America; by fortuitous circumstance, the elimination of monarchy was here comparatively simple. This fledgling of ochlocracy was here first able to break the shell of autocracy; that others have done likewise, to the point of consummate ease, we have recently witnessed in Spain, was inevitable, but it took the concerted catastrophe of the World War to demonstrate to the masses of the Western World that monarchy was no longer necessary or desirable; not because monarchy was synonymous with tyranny or oppression, but because it was outgrown and obsolete and had been, by the World War, proved to be too dangerous to be longer retained. Monarchies revealed therein the phenomenon that, being intelligent they were nevertheless stupid; and that their peoples, although generally ignorant, were none the less shrewd enough to rid themselves of a form of government which however innocuous in their daily life might, *ipso facto,* again become a menace among nations. Their consent to monarchy had never been asked or given; their assent had been implied; they withdrew their assent and monarchy approached its end. Autocracy which had accomplished much was over; and, if our hypothesis be right that there are but two fundamental types of government, ochlocracy must take its place.

Ochlocracy had in Aristotle's conception an obnoxious connotation. Popular government was unknown to the Greeks and undreamed of by either Plato or Aristotle. Greece never remotely approached a republic and only a fraction of the population of city-republics were citizens; the vast majority were slaves—"speaking tools" as they were ironically called. Nothing could have been further from the ideas of leaders in Greek philosophy and politics than "a government of the people, by the people and for the people", and nothing would have seemed more preposterous than the idea, that "all men are created free and equal". It is not strange, therefore, that ochlocracy to Aristotle meant mob government, and that this aspersion should, by virtue of his vast influence on all political writing, have barred ochlocracy from recognition as a legitimate form of government.

But ochlocracy means government by the masses without class discrimination, and is the only generic term broad enough to embrace the various forms of human effort at self-government. It is the antonym of autocracy, and imposed government, and is the synonym of popular government.

Metonymy is a vice of political writing, and results in the misconception and misuse of such terms as anarchism, socialism, communism, syndicalism, single-taxism, sovietism and fascism. While these appear as variant expressions of ochlocracy, they are, in fact, not types of government, but rather theories of social and/or economic organization, achieved or sought for through political movements.

If metonymy is a vice in political writing, it is less dangerous than phrase making which confuses liberty, freedom, equality and justice. Men are not created free and equal and the world has never witnessed a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. No government can liberate men from inherited traits, natural proclivities and the benefits or advantages with which they are endowed or burdened by their forebears.

No government can overcome natural diversity and degrees of ability, mentality or morality and make men equal except before the law. No government, at the present stage of human intelligence, where even in America moving picture programs are deliberately worked out to meet the mental capacity of a fourteen year old child as the norm of audience understanding and appreciation, could operate successfully if it were truly a government by the people; and, if all the people had reached that sublimated condition of being fit to govern or even to participate in government, the need for government would disappear and anarchism would be logical and desirable, for the proposition is indisputable that the least government necessary is the best government possible. Complete liberty under existing conditions would be monstrous and absolute justice or equality the last thing man desires.

The French in the emotionalism of their revolution evolved the motto: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, yet no one of these is an attainable objective of government, least of all fraternity.

Liberty is the absence of all control or dominion and implies an unrestricted choice and course of conduct, unlimited by the rights or necessities of others; for instance, one would be at liberty to drive a motor car at any speed desired in a newly discovered and unpopulated land. Obviously, liberty in its absolute sense can not exist in community life and is irreconcilable with human society. No government pretends to accord its citizens liberty, and the term has a proper place only in the anarchistic theory of human relations. By a kind of poetic license, as in national hymns, it is constantly confused with freedom, which does express a proper political concept. Freedom implies a present or potential state of control or bondage and involves the existence of a superior power able to impress, unless restrained, some form of servitude; for illustration, in the communities where there is no statutory speed limit, one is free to drive a motor car as fast as one will, until that freedom of action conflicts with the rights of others. The prime object of government is to exercise indisputable power in such manner as to produce the maximum freedom and the minimum restraint consistent with the safety and general welfare of its people. There are but two legitimate purposes for political movements, of which one is to bring about the adoption of some theory of new freedom, whether it be concerned with the freedom of human beings from slavery, or of the freedom of land from private ownership or the freedom of political action or freedom in religious worship. Freedom is, then, *the prime objective* of government.

Equality means artificial equipoise in qualities, attributes and status, and requires absolute uniformity in the distribution of the benefits and burdens of communal existence. It is a condition of compulsory conformitarianism and is opposed to individualism, and the natural differentiation and development of men. Clearly it is not a direct or independent concern of government, except in the single matter of legal status, and is, therefore, an incident of the *second objective* of government, namely the enforcement of justice. *Justice* requires an exact measure and dispensing of reward and punishment to virtue and vice, and an unvarying demarcation between the rights and privileges of its citizens. Within the limits of finite minds it is obtainable through government, and only thereby, which reveals the basic flaw in anarchistic reasoning.

In summation on this point, it is now clear that just as there is a single origin for government, so there are but two direct purposes of government, to insure the maximum freedom in communal life and to compel justice between its members. All political controversy upon final analysis, is a difference of viewpoints on the extent of freedom desirable and attainable by human society and upon what is just between men, who are not by nature equal or uniformly honest.

With understanding of the true intendment of these words, freedom, liberty, equality and justice, which embrace the desiderata of all government, we perceive that all free people will have common objectives, when upon finding or believing themselves fit to do so, or being precipitated by events beyond their control into the necessity for doing so, they assert their right to set up a popular government. But, almost like children, finding themselves in a fairy land, they know not whither to turn; there are many alluring paths and always the good and bad fairies ready to guide or misguide them.

It may, therefore, be useful at this pregnant stage in Western civilization to marshal, in decent order, and redefine the elements and characteristics of the numerous expressions of ochlocracy, which is today supplanting autocracy, accepting as we must from a retrospection of the history of government, what has already been stated, that it is either imposed through strength or virtue without action by the governed in some form of autocracy, or established through the expressed will of the majority in some form of ochlocracy.

If we deal with the forms of ochlocracy as they have developed historically in actual operation in Western civilization, we should first consider, what may appear a contradiction in terms but is not, namely constitutional monarchy, as that exists in England. Monarchy ceased to be autocracy in England by the Magna Carta. The essence of autocracy is the right to impose the will of the sovereign on the governed. The necessary attribute of autocracy is the divine right of kings; the unavoidable concomitant of autocracy is that the king can do no wrong and is without the law. The twofold fallacy of autocracy is obvious: its alleged origin in the superman fiction and the dilemma created by its law-making power and law-breaking prerogative.

When autocracy consents to be bound by its own laws, to restrict its own powers by constitutional limitations, it surrenders that, without which autocracy can not exist, and the continuance of a ruling house or hereditary kingship is a symbol of no intrinsic potency. Constitutional monarchy is, therefore, that form of ochlocracy, properly denominated a commonwealth, which chooses to continue a king or titular ruler as the most convenient instrument of continuity and representation: it is an effective type of representative government, more costly than most others but having a quality, by many recognized as advantageous in that it affords the symbolism to which mankind's thought has been habituated by centuries of autocracy: it is ochlocracy in terms of grand opera. It might be classed as *regimented ochlocracy.*

Next in historical order of the development of ochlocracy, is the Republic of France. In that it has universal suffrage, it is more than democratic, in the historical meaning of that word. It is theoretically ochlocratic and, in form, representative government. It must be borne in mind at this juncture that at the will of the ruler, an autocratic government may be in form a republic: as an ochlocratic government may be in form a monarchy. The test lies in the extent, distribution and permanence of powers conferred upon the government; *republic* and *representative government* are terms which merely describe the method by which government is established and operated; they are in no sense to be used as synonymous with democracy or ochlocracy. A state of stimulation at a public gathering may be created in an individual by emotional causes or alcoholic imbibing; in the one case it is patriotism, in the other intoxication, and autocracy may be accomplished by republican forms or nominally representative government, by precluding parliamentary changes or restricting the suffrage.

A peculiar interest attaches to the Republic of France in that it illustrates the conflicting influences at its birth. Ochlocracy never came nearer anarchy than then, but the prolonged submission to autocracy had bred habits too strong to make possible continued or persistent mass interest in government, and a theoretical ochlocracy has in practice become a cabinet government. It might be termed, *limited ochlocracy*.

Contrast with the French Republic, the practically concurrent experience in America of a people, constituted largely of those who had no such sympathetic or acquiescent experience with autocracy and were physically removed from the subconscious influence of its symbolism and existence as the customary order of things. Their revolution is less violent, because less hateful, but the result is more drastic. America becomes the first national government of history, in which the people do in actual majority participate throughout, as the result of universal suffrage unrestricted even by sex and periodic, direct nomination and election of all its representatives, including the president and members of both houses of its parliamentary body: it is the first *representative ochlocracy* of the world.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that the so-called minority election of presidents of the United States is demonstrably a mechanical accident, as is the adoption of constitutional amendments without a majority vote.

The next clearly distinguishable form of ochlocratic government in Western civilization came through the Bolsheviki of Russia. Here we wade into deep waters, for to a very great number of people, Russia appears either anarchistic or autocratic. It is neither. No country has more government than Russia, hence it can not, by any stretch of definition, be anarchistic. In Russia, as in Italy, the superficial indications of autocracy are transitory. In government as in any other construction, new or re-construction, there are architects who design it and engineers who direct its construction, but the building itself, if soundly planned, will upon completion be the product of the workmen, conforming to some pre-existent and recognized type of architecture. Russia is building an ochlocracy and its autocratic aspect will sooner or later disappear.

In its origin, our own country moved into no new or advanced political ground, so far as any theory of government or its laws was concerned: its significance came through its later development into outright ochlocracy, carried to the extreme point of deferring advent into a menacing world war until the multitude and masses assented.

The French Revolution consummated advanced political thought up to its time: namely freedom from political and religious oppression.

The Russian Revolution introduced a new element: freedom from economic oppression. This leads us to a definition of the many "isms" which took form between the French and Russian Revolutions or in related sequence to the one or the other: anarchism, socialism, communism, syndicalism, single-taxism, sovietism and fascism.

Anarchism is probably the most ancient of the "isms" in government. It has a most respectable ancestry, has been fostered by gentle and learned men, and is based on an idealism so appealing and logic so persuasive, that if a well tailored speaker of serious mien and sepulchral voice were without their knowledge to read, verbatim, from an essay on anarchism to a ladies' aid society in the country on to the attendants of a current events course in our effete cities, he would be met with applause and a majority, perhaps a unanimous, vote of approval. The conventional cartoon of an anarchist is no more accurate a delineation of what anarchism is scientifically, as a theory of government, than a picture of a buzzard would be of social life south of the Mason and Dixon line. Anarchism is so totally at odds with the facts of life, as to be utterly and completely unworthy of serious consideration as a theory of government: only the stupidity of its enemies keeps it alive as such. As with most other political "isms", it will be found upon analysis to be a theory of human society, having no validity as a political movement. Among its great names have been Zeno, Rabelais, Fénelon, Godwin, Owen, Proudhon and Stirner. Covering a range of many centuries, their efforts have been as sincere as their doctrines have been visionary. Anarchism is, in principle, opposed to the private ownership of land, against capitalistic production for the sake of profit and to any form of monopoly which runs counter to "the principles of justice and dictates of utility"; it would abolish all government and leave men to conduct their private communal life "not by submission to law, or by obedience to authority, but by free agreement, concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of civilized beings." While reaching an approach to the force of a political movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, anarchism can never take root in the soil of an essentially selfish and individualistic humanity; it is of the stuff that dreams are made of and violence is no more a part of its doctrine, than it was of those gentle New Englanders who opposed human slavery. If its major tenet can be expressed in a phrase, it is in *mutualism through social liquidation:* a condition as remote as the general acceptance of the mandates of the Sermon on the Mount.

Socialism is not a theory of government, and, the sooner both its friends and enemies realize this, the better. It is an economic religion. Those who advocate it so zealously would do better to devote their energies to making mankind fit their theory, than in trying to fit their theory to mankind. "Socialist" is not a brand of scorn nor a badge of virtue and few words are used with less exactness or knowledge of its true meaning. It literally covers a multitude of sins in the opinion of those who are against change and believe in letting well enough alone in social theory. The idea is deliberately fostered that it is, as it were, the mother ship of the submarines which would torpedo the existing order of things. Socialism is in fact diametrically opposed to anarchism and communism in that it believes, not in abolishing the state but in extending its powers beyond their present recognized limits. The word socialism, is used to denominate a theory or body of theories of government and also to describe a political movement. It is unsound as the one, and unnecessary as the other. Accurately viewed, socialism is a theory of economics and law, and has no place in politics. It is no true function of government to interfere with or control the distribution of acquired wealth. It is nonsense to talk about a capitalistic government or a socialistic government; one may properly speak of the interrelations of men as capitalistic or socialistic. There is not an item in the socialistic program which could not be constitutionally accomplished in America or in any other country of the Western World, whenever a majority of the people of a given country are avowedly and permanently in favor thereof. What socialism requires, if it is to get on, is not political activity but intelligent advocacy. It is difficult to perceive how a program of social betterment can be converted into a form or theory of government, or made the basis for political action: one might as well organize a party to enforce the Ten Commandments or to compel mankind to practice the meditations of Marcus Aurelius. It is an absolute fallacy to say that the present Russian Government is founded on the political preaching of Karl Marx. Social theories frequently influence political action and undoubtedly had that effect in Russia, but the actual determination of the Russian people was to establish a popular government or ochlocracy in place of an absolute government or autocracy. While a government has properly nothing to do with economics or morals, nevertheless, socialism in the hundred years since the word was first used, has, for better or worse, succeeded in concentrating a vast amount of political action upon an effort to level the hills and valleys between men and classes. If it is accepted as a political theory, its distinguishing tenet is *state ownership, control and operation of natural resources and the machinery of production.* It is as unfair to assert that socialism would cut all men to a Procrustean bed and destroy individualism, as to confuse anarchism with violence. It is amazing how intelligent individuals and communities will class all who are not content with the existing order of things politically as "socialists" and shun them as unclean; this colossal ignorance and narrow mindedness is of a stripe with that attitude of a generation ago, which branded sincere and earnest inquiry into orthodox religion, as atheism. At least, this may be said of the socialist, he has enough concern for his fellowmen to think politically and is not an "idiot", a word which originated with the Greeks to describe those who refused to perform their duties as citizens. Yet socialism is not a theory of government, any more than Christianity is a religion. Christianity is a particular expression of monotheism, and socialism is a particular expression of ochlocracy, which attempts to make a prescribed economic scheme the basis of government; *and is bound to fail.* The history of socialism is a good deal like a game familiar to American school boys, called "bull-in-the-ring". A single lad is surrounded by a circle of other boys gripping each other's hands, and it is his task to rush at various parts of the ring in repeated efforts to break the grip and be free. Socialism is surrounded by its own fallacies and repeatedly tries to break through under some new caption, such as collectivism, which serves only to express the economic basis of socialism. Whatever its name, the fundamental doctrine is ever the same—a paramount belief in the efficacy of the state to overcome by legislative fiat the natural differences of mankind. Germany may, owing to certain ethnic traits of her people and the influence of her political experiences, attempt to demonstrate the first *socialistic ochlocracy* in history.

Communism and *syndicalism* are diametrically opposed to socialism, in that each repudiates the state, however constituted, as sovereign, and would place the control of human affairs, that is government, in class groups. The communist as the name implies would place it in the rather indefinite geographic unit of the community, *quoad hoc;* and the syndicalist, in labor unions. Communism is sometimes referred to as the left wing of socialism, which is obviously a totally incorrect statement. Syndicalism is sometimes referred to as working class socialism, an equally erroneous description. Neither communism nor syndicalism can have any direct relation to socialism, for the former would place the control of human affairs with the producers and organizations of their own creation, while the latter would vest the domination of human relations in the state and its subsidiary organizations.

Communism has revealed two interesting characteristics: the nobility of its thinkers and the ambition of its workers. Among the former are Plato, More, Saint-Simon and Owen; among its workers have been the Owenites, the Fourierists, the Icarians; and among its works, such efforts at practical demonstration, as the Perfectionist Community of Oneida, the Rappist Community, the Shakers, and the villages of New Harmony, Amana, Zoar and Economy. Syndicalism, originating in France, has wielded its greatest influence in its ideology of action and class consciousness, and exercised a more potent, though more subtle, influence in Russia than Marxian socialism. Communism and syndicalism involve revolution and *every communist and syn-*

dicalist is ipso facto, a revolutionist, as is true also of anarchism; per contra, the socialist, the fascist, and single-taxist are evolutionists.

Bolshevism seeks the conquest of society by the proletariat, and is a composite of French syndicalism, Marxian socialism, and Bakuninian anarchism. Only the Russian mind could conceive and carry out such a scheme of government. It might be termed eclectic ochlocracy, in that it has on the one hand, accorded full participation in government to the masses and, on the other, by the dictatorship of a compact minority compelled the adoption by those masses of what its leaders deemed of value in three variant and conflicting theories of government. Certainly Russia is not anarchistic: it has carried government to a point of interference in the affairs of its citizens, which, foolishly, reaches even to their religion. Certainly Russia is not socialistic; it is based upon a complete distrust of state sovereignty and is in organization communistic, through its soviets; yet, it is distinctly not communistic in its creation and maintenance of state monopolies. It is, therefore, a new scheme of government which will eventually take ochlocratic form, although at the moment, for reasons earlier stated, it appears to be that impossible thing, an autocratic ochlocracy. If Russia permanently adheres to communism, which is extremely doubtful, it will be a distinctive new type of government: *communistic ochlocracy.*

There are two other "isms" in the development of ochlocracy which well deserve consideration and understanding. The one has never found practical application, except in certain experimental villages—*the doctrine of the single tax;* yet no political concept has been more sincerely or persuasively advocated. Like socialism, from which it is clearly distinguished, it is, strictly viewed, a theory of law and economics, not of government; and its only true relation to politics is the use thereof to gain control of the law making agencies of the existent state, in order to effect the necessary changes, to permit the enforcement of its economic and legal theories. No intelligent advocate of socialism or the single tax can possibly be a revolutionist in any government, where the actual majority of its citizens have the power to enact its laws, directly or through chosen representatives; like socialism also, the single tax doctrine does not imply any change in the form of existing government; neither is concerned with kings, presidents or parliaments, as long as they are so constituted as to express the actual will of the majority. It may be seriously urged that the advocates of both theories would best serve their cause, if they abstained from all political activity, and rested their cause upon an appeal to reason, the education of the masses and what they believe to be the merit of their case. While in the respects mentioned similar, it must be observed that socialism and the doctrine of single tax are opposed, in that the former concerns itself with state control and operation of the instrumentalities of production and the breaking down of all monopoly accomplished through capitalism; the latter, recognizing the natural differences between men, would go no further than, through the state, to control natural resources and break down only those monopolies which are founded upon the private appropriation of land and its appurtenances.

Another "ism" meriting particular attention as a derivative form of ochlocracy is *fascism*. The leader of that political *faith,* for such, in his own words, it is and nothing more, conceives it to have replaced "worn out democracy paralyzed by parliamentary forms". That was not its origin or purpose: it was artificially begun for the sole purpose of offsetting Bolshevism in Italy. It was organized just as the North Woods organizes to fight a forest fire, by starting back fires. As has been said by one of its spokesmen, it does not represent a new political event, and reflects the Kryptera of Sparta. It is not a type or form of government or a political theory, and its challenge to parliamentary government was not premeditated but the result of expediency; and is neither serious nor permanent. When its work is finished, fascism will be put to rest with high military honors, if it continues its good work unto the end of its allotted task: and Italy will be a regimented ochlocracy adhering to parliamentary practice under a beloved king and powerful prime minister. That for the moment, it is talked of as a dictatorship is of no historical significance. Like its *bête noire* Russia, that it appears to be an autocratic ochlocracy is but a transitory phenomenon during the reconstruction of a country, morally and financially stricken by the Great War. It is impossible to find in fascism any new political idea, though it appears, for the time being, in the guise of benevolent despotism. Like every "ism" in politics, it spawns its terms such as these—discipline, corporative organization, supervisory force, charter of labor—and its phrases, such as these: "politics is fused into living moral reality" because "the authority of the state was a kitten handled to death"; "it is a spiritual force which renovates the history of a great and enduring people"—

and claims the customary objectives of new political orders, such as these, "to reorganize all civil life", to do away with the "base, clannish habit of class competition", to deal with "those necessities which would be general in a situation where there is economic restriction and where traditions of work and production have not yet been developed by experience and time". There being nothing new, there can be nothing revolutionary and, hence, there can be nothing permanent in fascism as a political theory. It has contributed to the ideology of government. Its great achievement has been to prove that patriotism has not become obsolete and that supervisory force is still necessary in popular government. It is to the great credit of the genius of fascism that he built upon the past and, despite present appearances, did not seek to concoct a new theory of government to meet his nation's needs and, although bred a socialist, dared announce that fascism was not opposed to capitalism. Novelty is no virtue in government. It is also to his credit that, in doing his duty to his country, he did not reach out, despite later grandiose reference to "fascist civilization", for a revolutionary scheme to reform the world. In his moment of greatest achievement, he frankly recognized that fascism "grew out of the special necessities of the Italian situation", that "practical reality itself has been the navigator", that "the corporative organization was not born from a desire to create mere juridical institutions" and "that the unity of Italy is soundly based upon the House of Savoy". Fascism is then the demonstration of ochlocracy under the leadership of a strong patriot, and proves that "government by the multitude" can rise to the emergencies of national dangers and will produce its strong men in times of need and submit to them.

It will have been observed that in the foregoing types of popular government, *democracy* has not been included. As Aristotle in his time excluded ochlocracy as a recognized type of government and used, in lieu thereof, democracy; for that very reason, in our day we must do the opposite. To Aristotle, democracy meant the rule of the people, adhering to the etymology of the word, but by people he meant *the* people, not the *people;* he referred to that restricted number, that small minority, that perhaps one out of five, who enjoyed the privileges of citizenship and the right to participate in government. Democracy to the Greeks as widely differed from our customary use of the word, as the Greek city, which was called a republic, differed from the Republic of France. To Aristotle and all who have followed him, modern democracy would have been opprobriously termed ochlocracy; it is our pride that the opprobrium has passed, which scorned the ignorance of the multitude and masses and, in being accurate, we may also be proud to repudiate the Aristotelian term, democracy, and use that which he rejected, ochlocracy, not the government of the mob, but government by all of the people.

The history of government has been the struggle of the multitude, the masses or the mob to fit itself to govern itself and to gain the right to do so. There is no cause for shame in recognizing that the event has occurred, and we are a part of it, particularly here in America where individually we esteem the self-made man. Most governments of the Western World are today self-made governments of the people. Bourbonism has literally and figuratively abdicated.

As we look back over the tortuous course of the masses, with all its tragedies, there is in it romance and a peculiar harmony. It has been throughout a sequential struggle of the average man of every age and time, to gain for himself and those who followed after him, *personal freedom and justice, political freedom and justice, religious freedom and justice,* and now *economic freedom and justice.* In gaining each of the earlier objectives, that average man was frequently stupid, unnecessarily violent and occasionally mad. In the attainment of the objective of economic freedom and justice, history may repeat itself. Consider for the moment the contradictory nature of the "isms" by which he is going about it: the anarchist would have no government, the socialist would have all government; the communist who would have no state and resort to primal community life; the syndicalist would exalt labor to complete mastery; the single-taxer finds all human suffering attributable to land monopoly; the bolshevist would annihilate *all* class distinctions. Certainly these "isms" can not all be sound. There is one doctrine common to most of these "isms"—namely the abrogation of private ownership of land and natural resources. There is one faith common to them all, if we go below the surface, that is in the will of the majority. There is one antagonism common to them all, that is against monopoly and exploitation of the masses. There is one ideal common to them all, a truer happier state of mankind, not "to wreck this sorry scheme of things entire", but rather to rebuild it nearer to the heart's desire.

The old German fable "Die Himmelische Musik" is applicable; it told how men on earth heard the harmony of heavenly music and prayed to have it, until one day the angels dropped the score upon the earth; in the struggle for its possession, each man tore off a scrap of it and each on his own instrument played the snatch he had gained in the mêlée; the dreadful discord amazed them and not until again the heavens opened and the angels gathered up each bit of the scattered score and put it together, was the heavenly music heard.

Because there is confusion and absurdity among the active advocates of these "isms", there must be no confusion among those who over the long, long years to come, shall eventually decide the issue of the "isms". Intelligent understanding of their differences is not difficult, if once we cease to brand those who are not yet content with human progress as enemies of the state and all of the same ilk. Ridicule of misguided idealism will not cure it. *We must forget* such ditties as "what is a Communist, one that hath yearnings for equal division of unequal earnings". Proletarian may in connection with dictatorship seem and is an unfortunate term, which in time will be discarded, but it means, in modern use, only a wage earner, which in a very real sense we all are. What if it did mean in ancient Rome, with its class distinctions, those so low in the social scale as to be capable of serving the state only by reproduction. *We must remember* that force never suppressed any real faith, political, social, religious or personal; unsound and dangerous faiths die only of disappointment.

Reference is frequently made in political writing and discussion to the "parliamentary system" and the "party system" of government, as though these were, *per se,* kinds of government, the word system being used interchangeably with the words theory and government. A given people accept in a given time the *theory* of government which appeals to the majority of them; comformably thereto, a *government* is set up and is operated by such *system,* as they simultaneously adopt. The theory of government is either autocratic or ochlocratic, and is unchangeable except by revolution; the system, however, changes or develops through evolution, varying from the one party system of Italy at the present time, to the two party system in England and America to the multi-party system in France and Germany. As in most human affairs, we find these theories and systems intermingled in actual practice and a pure-breed of government is about the rarest thing in the modern world. But this confusion of thought and terminology is of no great concern. Fundamentally government is based on faith in or distrust of the majority of a people to govern themselves.

It was long ago observed that "Morality is the custom of one's country. Cannibalism is moral in a cannibal land". We are living in ochlocracies and in ochlocratic times. There is happily a growing sense of the amenities of the situation. The offhand remark of America's greatest wheat grower on his recent return from Russia where he has been given charge of thirty millions of acres by the Soviet régime, was a pleasant relief from prejudice and persiflage and is worth quoting:

> "I am applying in Russia what I did in Montana—the use of modern equipment on a large scale. I have established a school to instruct the farmers in its use.
>
> "Stalin is a remarkable man. I do not agree with his policies or form of government and

> tell him so, and we have many arguments. He is very frank, however, and willing to take suggestions. He says he wishes to make the Russian peasant independent and has given me the task of doing it."

If this is a true view of the spirit of Russian leadership, the civilized world should and will give it a chance to work out its program whether it takes five years or fifty years, but if the cries from the Siberian timber camps and the Arctic colonies of the exiled "inadjustables" are authentic, eternity will not be long enough for the "Russian experiment" and other nations will not and should not stand aside. The world must be made safe for humanity, before making it safe for any theory of government becomes important or worth consideration.

The recent statement of the new Minister of Justice of the Spanish Republic has none of the sting of the bitter revolutionist:

> "Where you have municipal ownership you have no pauperism. We are going to make the municipalities owners and beneficiaries of the land as a sort of holding company whose members will be the workers on the land. The present owners of large estates will be deprived of the chief portion of their holdings. They will be recompensed at a fair rate, which will be fixed by the government."

The years since the World War have brought Western civilization long strides in its history. In that cycle of government which Aristotle perceived and history has demonstrated, ochlocracy is the last turn of the cycle before anarchism. Ochlocracy, with all its high sounding theories can become mob government; anarchism, with all its abstract idealism, can become nihilism, and ochlocracy can slide very quickly through hypocrisy and corruption into the class hatred of degraded anarchism and violence. To express it in Old English, this irresistible impulse of the Western World to remove the vestiges of autocracy and its exultant adoption of ochlocracy, in various forms, is not "all beer and skittles", even as far along as we have gotten here in America. It can lead to heights of political achievement, economic justice, world peace and human happiness, undreamed of "in the glory that was Greece" and "the grandeur that was Rome", or it can plunge the world into an abyss of suffering, unparalleled in human history. The people rule, but likewise they have the responsibility of ruling, no sovereign to turn to, except themselves, no source of safety save in their own sound judgment and self-control. In Britain, there are ninety millions of whom at least one out of three is too unschooled to form a reasoned, political opinion; in France, forty millions of whom not one in forty ever reads a newspaper; in Germany, sixty millions of whom not one in a thousand, until ten years ago, had the slightest interest in the actual government of his country and was content to be "verboten"; in Italy, forty millions, of whom fifteen millions can not read or write—in Russia one hundred and fifty millions: and in America, populated by a hundred and twenty millions, with a monthly circulation for its journals of public opinion not exceeding 200,000, and two million in a single city reading daily newspapers too infantile for school boys and too salacious for adults. In Spain another twenty-three million, in Austria seven million; in Hungary, although nominally a regency, another eight million; Czechoslovakia, with fifteen millions, and so to the end of the chapter: a half billion people experimenting with self-government, and the oldest republic among them, our own with a history of barely a century and a half. No republic in history has endured as long as two centuries, yet today for the first time republics outnumber monarchies in the Western World. No people have proved fit to govern themselves, yet today in America and Europe, more than a score of the dominant nations of the world are attempting it, in the face of the fact that sixty per cent of the world's population still can not read and write their own languages, and such illiteracy exists in high degree in many of the very countries where the experiment in mass government is being tried, as for example, taking men and women in separate groups, in Italy, it is from 25% to 30%; in Russia (as of 1920) from 49% to 71%; in Spain 39% to 43%; in Poland 29% to 75%; in Greece 37% to 69%, and in our own country, as of 1920 it was 14% of our foreign born whites and 27% of our negroes. There is not a nation in which absolute illiteracy is not as high as the present percentage of unemployed in the United States; yet ability to read and write one's own language is the irreducible minimum in qualification for self government.

On the whole it is not an inspiring prospect. In fact, it is an acutely dangerous situation, were it not for the fact that an all wise Providence has not permitted this great world change to come about, until the genius of man, with his multiple presses and through his wire and wireless transmission, devised the means of communicating human intelligence, so that literally the blind may see, the deaf may hear and the illiterate be informed. The radio audience in America alone is fifty millions, owning fifteen million receiving sets and "listening in" to a hundred million radio hours every day.

Woe unto those who pervert these means; well might it be said in the words of Him, who had consummate faith in the common man, better were it for such a one that a millstone were hanged about his neck, than that he should mislead the masses of mankind in their supreme test and gigantic effort justly and wisely to govern themselves. Even in ancient warfare, it was the act of only the barbarian to poison the well of his enemy; in modern warfare, effort is being made and succeeding in restricting the uses of poison gas, but what shall be said of those who poison the wells of public opinion and spread the deadly fumes of class hatred or false economic theories over whole communities and nations. Against prostitution, white slavery and the narcotic trade, even nations act today in concert, but there is not even a municipal ordinance to punish those who, by malevolent propaganda, prostitute the judgment of the electorate, and who, by misrepresentation, paralyze the normal reactions of the populace and, by concealment, enslave the conscience of a people!

The voice of the people is as near the voice of God as most of mankind can come, and, therein we trust in setting aside autocracy and assuming the great privileges and great duties of ochlocracy; but let us be sure that parliaments and ministers heed that voice, and that the people are not left in darkness.

In the fullness of time in Western civilization, the people have come into their own: have achieved at last the opportunity to govern themselves, not in isolated countries but over the sweep of continents. The outcome of this great adventure depends solely on one event: the willingness of those, who would have been kings and emperors in an earlier age of man, to devote themselves to the education of the masses and the guidance of public opinion; to assume the responsibilities, dangers and sacrifices of intellectual sovereignty with no prerogatives of royalty, no prospect of reward and the certainty of the ingratitude of republics. The following words were written more than two thousand years ago in Plato's Republic:

> "Socrates enumerates the characteristics of the true philosopher, the ones who should be selected to govern the ideal Republic. These characteristics are: (1) an eager desire for the knowledge of all real existence; (2) hatred of falsehood and love of the truth; (3) contempt for the pleasures of the body; (4) indifference to money; (5) high mindedness and liberality; (6) justice and gentleness; (7) a quick apprehension and a good memory; (8) a musical, regular and harmonious disposition."

Upon such leaders rests the future of our civilization. They can literally speak to the whole Western World; and it is listening, as it never listened before.

Indicative of how today man may speak to man, as he may to God without human intercession, let us refer to two mechanical achievements of our time: first, the ability of representatives of all nations and many tongues to meet in the same hall, hear the same speaker, feel the force of his personality and withal, practically simultaneously, by a kind of linguistic alchemy, have his words in the familiar sounds and phrasings of their own tongue; second, the significance of the dial plate of a standard English radio with its numerical instructions for listening in at Paris, Moscow, Kharkov, Oslo, Leningrad, Budapest, Milan, Cincinnati, Rome, New York, Madrid, Berlin, Chicago, Toulouse, Barcelona and Pittsburgh, to mention but a part of the list. If the allegory of the Tower of Babel were true that a wrathful God confused the tongues of men, by the intellectual endowments of His grace man has very nearly reached the ability to undo the confusion, and for the first time in human history, communication between the great majority of peoples of all nations is a fact accomplished, which brings us vastly nearer Tennyson's parliament of man and federation of the world than all the man-made treaties in the archives of statesmanship and to a Christian world (using that term as commonly accepted and in no sense in its sectarian meaning) than all the papal bulls and encyclicals and Protestant sermons and articles of faith.

The electric transcription and broadcasting of intelligence and information is one of the major advances in the entire history of mankind. But it raises an economic and political issue of an importance surpassed by none in the history of mankind. For better or worse—considering the immaturity and incapacity of the human race, humanity accepted the doctrine of private ownership and monopoly of land and corporeal natural resources. It must accept and tolerate no such doctrine as to the air. For every man who has fought for freedom from despotism, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of the seas, let us muster a thousand men against any effort, however subtle or concealed, however suave or insidious, to control, dominate or censor the transmission of knowledge, thought or idealism, from the humblest to the humblest, as from the great to their following.

There are two extreme and opposing viewpoints as to the function of government, and since politics is the means by which government is produced, they are similarly affected. Beginning with Plato, there have always been those who place upon the State the responsibility for all public welfare and look to the State as the source and accomplisher of all human advancement, even in the physical development of the race. There are others who believe that the State should interfere as little as necessary in the affairs of men. Between these two viewpoints, there are various shades of opinion but, generally speaking, one is an individualist or a communist, using the latter word in its broad meaning of a believer in the doctrine expressed in the religious phrase—that we are all bound together in the bundle of life. Either view is rational and neither view can be condemned; the truth probably lies between them in a golden mean, wherein government will serve to advance individualism by preventing those unjust encroachments thereon which arise out of human selfishness and cupidity.

It is of great practical importance, if human kind is to gain true and substantial happiness, that men and women be better informed and more aware of the distinctions between government, politics, society and law, their proper functions and true purposes, wherein they properly touch the lives of all of us and the duties we owe in respect to each of them.

Government is the means any people choose of doing those things which can be done only by organized action and go beyond the bounds of individual accomplishment. One may educate a child a given distance at home, but cannot provide a high school education, hence education becomes a task accomplishable only through government. Such things are quite clear, but there are many affairs and relations wherein opinions will differ as to whether a particular function should be performed by the citizens individually for themselves or performed *for* them by the state. This is the point where true socialism takes an advanced and intelligent view, even if it is not sound or acceptable in its application, which it is not. As times change, naturally new problems arise in this direction, and the great key to their solution is not a change in form of government but in applying the implied and recognized power of any government, called technically its police power, in such manner as to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number. It is an ancient mistake still persisted in to expect too much from government, to blame too many ills upon government, which, after all, is the creature of the great majority, a fact which is now clear; henceforward, government is what the great majority make it, and not otherwise.

Politics is the name for the means of organized discussion, which is designed to serve two purposes: first, effectively to give expression to and put into action the majority opinion of the people affected; second, to bring forward and put in position of authority, competent administrators of the commonwealth. These are the only legitimate purposes of politics, but they are of far reaching significance and power. Every system of government tried by man, every government set up by man, has failed at some point because its leadership did not measure up to its responsibilities. Every government which has been attempted and failed has failed because its leaders were "weighed in the balance and found wanting," and no government in existence today is as old as the years which have passed since the discovery of the printing press. Government always breaks down through man failure.

True rulers will make any kind of government redound to man's happiness and advancement; selfish, stupid, weak or incompetent rulers will pervert the most perfect governmental machinery ever devised. The resentment of the masses which causes revolutions, may destroy this or that type of government, yet its quarrel with the form of government is sensible only because certain types of government lend themselves more easily than others to oppression and abuse of the great majority. While certain modern forms of representative government, or democracy as it is termed, do reduce the dangers of oppression and abuse, let no man believe that any form of government exists or ever will be invented in which the great majority is safe, unless they are eternally vigilant, conscientious in their duties as citizens and intelligent in seeking and using dependable information as to how governmental affairs are being handled. Rottenness in government exists solely because of the ignorance and indifference of those most vitally affected. The vicious development in human beings of trying to live on the sweat of the brows of others, of reaping where they have not sown, of exploiting one's fellowman body and soul to feed one's own desires, to find the easiest way to comfort and luxury, whether it be of the prostitute or the politician, makes purity in government impossible and no *mechanical* means will ever be found of producing honest government, eliminating "graft" or insuring faithful public service. The way will be found when these motives cease to have any sane reason for their existence and the gratitude of a happy, contented and justly dealt with public is rated as the highest achievement of the able man and the accumulation of wealth as inconsequential —in short, when in the business of government, as elsewhere, the "profit motive" gives way to the "service motive" and in fact it is known that "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." Politics is then what might be called the everyday outlet for patriotism and those who seriously seek to bring man to his natural place of true and substantial happiness will take their part in politics and attend to the public business as well as their own.

The relation of society to government afforded the thesis which caused the French Revolution. Rousseau's theory of a Social Compact literally upset the world. He asserted in the Confessions, as to the Contrat Social: "I had come to see, that, in the last resort everything depends upon Politics; and that whatever men may do, no nation will ever be anything but what the nature of its Government may make it." Montesquieu affirmed with equal assurance "that no Government will ever be anything but what the nature of its people may make it."

The whole truth is found in neither statement, but lies probably somewhere between them. The beasts of the field and jungle have a society and recognized social customs; but they have no government. This natural state impels the scientific anarchist to believe that man needs no government, which would be true had man not perverted the decency of his own soul or had it perverted by the acts of others. One owes definite obligations to society, which have nothing to do with his duties as a citizen. It is a social duty to be bodily clean, presentable in dress, polite and well mannered, and we cannot too soon rid ourselves of the idea that to be natural means to be unsocial and disregard the social amenities. The idea is as stupid as its disciples are uncouth. A man or woman may live, eat, and dress as best suits his individual needs, but it is an infantile absurdity to assert that all musicians need long hair, that all poets need to be untidy dreamers, that all artists have to wear black wing ties, if they be men, or flat-heeled shoes, if they be women. There is a saying at the American bar, where some still ape the style of the old type lawyer, that the shorter the coat, the better the man, and the expression about long haired men and short haired women became familiar, because it describes the oddity of those who unhappily reason that because genius is sometimes eccentric, eccentricity will produce genius. These external trifles are not mere superficialities, they indicate a wrong perception of society and manifest a complete ignorance of the obligations of every individual to society, which exists quite apart from his duty to be loyal to his government and law abiding.

We might as well recognize the fact that the average man and woman has never for as much as thirty seconds stopped to understand the relation between government, politics, society and law. The average intelligence on the subject is indicated by the completely ignorant threat "to have the law" on some one. How can it reasonably be hoped that self-government will work, when nine out of ten citizens have no conception of what law is, where it comes from or how it is administered. Before God Almighty made anything else, He made law. He had to, otherwise, His universe would have fallen apart. The law, as we call it, in our business affairs, is, if it be soundly framed and administered, a little part of the great law of God. Laws as we know them, are man's efforts to do justice; they are not made by men or legislatures or judges or courts; if true laws, they originate in the natural justice which the Creator ordered; foolish rulers and legislators sometimes make bad laws; dishonest judges sometimes administer law, but law, in its true sense, is the human expression of divine order and the means of making natural justice certain in communal life. Had law and laws fulfilled their purpose, we should long since have known a world in which man could seek and obtain his own true and substantial happiness.

That a true concept of patriotism has become of vital importance to our world and our times must be apparent even to the casual observer of international affairs and the changes in public morals, both European and American. To view it from the latter standpoint first, there has always been a definite though varying relation or connection between man's religious faith and patriotism, and at frequent intervals the two have become for all practical purposes, identical. For the great majority of peoples of civilized nations, at one and the same time, to lose their grip on religion and patriotism implies almost complete disaster for the human race. The re-formation of religious faith is a difficult and long procedure, for it is less objective than patriotism and reaches into the less developed side of the average man's being. Hence, in these difficult days of transition from the destruction of the old order into a new and better order, it is of major importance that the average human shall not feel himself simultaneously adrift from his love of God and of country. Love of country must be based on respect; and there are few men and women who today can, without conscious effort, respect their countries, as far as their countries are typified by present governments.

One takes up on the high seas the Atlantic Edition of the London Daily Mail giving the news of the world on America's Thanksgiving Day, and he finds in two short pages of wireless news these events recorded: (1) Plans for a Ruthless Campaign; Death Penalty for those who disobey orders; compulsory labor; sensational riots in Germany—these the headlines describing conditions in the German Republic, elaborated by news that all foodstuffs were to be seized and private property confiscated; (2) M. Laval makes Strong Denial of German Claims for Pity, and announces that (Great Britain to the contrary notwithstanding) France will not allow commercial debts to have priority over her reparation debts; (3) 220,000 speakeasies and 50,000 bootleggers do business in the United States in direct defiance of the government; (4) Crisis in Australia—National Government Demanded; (5) Ghandi Snubbed by the British Secretary for India at the Round Table Federal Structure Committee and the issue intensified of British dominance in India; (6) Japanese Army may occupy Harbin, while the League of Nations appoints a committee for a brief period of watching; (7) South African Parliament Thrills; discussion of an emergency measure to regulate currency, banking and exchanges; (8) Denmark's Money Action to control foreign currency transactions and to secure funds to purchase raw materials that the agricultural industry required, considering also restricting of imports of certain luxury articles; (9) Austria's finances threatened with disaster, epoch making conference in session, but Austrian newspapers make no reference thereto; (10) Wheat Quota, Great Britain's second proposed protection in time to cover next spring's crop; (11) Nine Hunger Marchers Killed and fifteen wounded in the town of Ferwalden, Czechoslovakia.

This is the day's news of the world which the wireless brings to those at sea—one might add, from those in a tragic sense, at sea. As one reads this grist from a day's events, it would be easy to paraphrase Lincoln's favorite hymn: "Why should the spirit of patriots be proud."

On the thirteenth anniversary of Armistice Day the nations of the world paid hypocritical tribute to the Unknown Soldier by the virtual declaration of the Sino-Japanese War, by the accidental revelation of the most vicious type of international intrigue, by the registering of a higher world armament and preparedness for war than existed in 1913, by the deliberate effort to convert so-called reparations for the Great War into preparation for a World War, and by the actual though concealed efforts of organized capital to subordinate patriotism and convert the yet surviving misery of the last war into monstrous schemes for exploitation of the great majority of the peoples of Europe.

Yet can any reasonable and unprejudiced mind doubt that the average man and woman yearned only for peace and security; only for the chance to live honestly, hurting no one and rendering each to the other what was due.

Wherein, then, lies the reason for this amazing contradiction between the will of the great majority and the actual state of affairs in the world?

It is here first, the highest patriotism of the average man has been perverted into narrow nationalistic hatreds by those who live through the profits of war; as women's bodies have been and are sold in the "white slave trade," so the bodies and souls of men and women are sold in the trade of war; second, the great majority in most nations have not advanced to the point where their opinion avails anything in international politics.

As to the first cause, the deliberate exploitation of war as a business: when one has met, perhaps dined with, the past and present makers of war, the *agents provocateurs,* the heads of great armament works, for it is, of course, not soldiers who make war or even generals, he is struck by the amazing conviction that these men who sell their fellowmen into destruction are personally not monsters, and, that, however near the top they sit, are themselves instruments, and in their souls victims, of a system which they have neither created nor controlled. Where then, is to be found the root of the system—the answer is ever the same, in fear resulting from economic causes. The cure is equally apparent: if the great majority of the peoples of all countries were assured life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, yes, of the simple certainties of work to do, food to eat, homes to enjoy and a little pleasure, war would be as obsolete as witchcraft. When the day dawns in any state or country that these simple assurances can be given its people and are proved by experience, that day will see the beginning of the end of all war; and until that day dawns, there will be wars and rumors of war. Economic justice at home, not treaties abroad, is the way to international peace.

The second cause of international strife is that just as some men live by selling "wars" and war ammunition for the destruction of their fellowmen, so others live by selling false political ideas and spurious patriotism, for their individual profit. Such are called statesmen and politicians; they are neither, for accurately used, the word politician is as highly honorable as statesman. No they are neither; they are too often the gigolos and Apaches of civilization, who, for their livelihood and profit, pervert love of country into lust of power. They exist only because public opinion does not operate effectually in international affairs. Just as two hundred years ago not a people of the world had found the way or means to express the will of the great majority within their own borders, or to put into action public opinion, so today that condition exists in international affairs. Its cure is obvious, but it will be slow in accomplishment. Masses of mankind who are barely beginning to learn how to govern themselves within their own countries must some day learn to think also in terms of international problems; that seems a long way off, but by the grace of God, mechanical means are at hand which will save centuries of delay and whole generations from suffering, through wars which are made for peoples of the world and not by them. We are not yet up to it, but worth more than all the treaties of the world and diplomatic pacts, would be an agreement between all nations that before an ultimatum is made or war declared, each of the involved nations will, in good faith and completely, place for a reasonable time at the disposition of the other nation every available means of communication with its people, through radio, press, cinema and the spoken stage. Let the average folk of two nations on the brink of war, hear both sides, and know the whole truth and, thank God, that is now possible, even if they cannot read or write. There is not a diplomat in the world or a man or woman in the slightest way familiar with international affairs and history who does not know that, properly availed of, such a provision will do more to end war and put war mongers and provocateurs out of business than the Kellogg Pact or the World Court.

It is now apparent that democracy was not safe for the world in 1914 or in 1918. This accounts for the present difficulties which confront the Western nations. The cataclysmic events of these years forced into self-government peoples who were not ready for it. It is as though suddenly a great transatlantic liner were turned over to the passengers to run: worse, it is as though all the great transatlantic liners were simultaneously turned over to their passengers, while in storms and on the high seas. The results have inevitably caused collisions and disasters.

Nowhere is this so apparent as in Germany. Its people are utterly strange to the methods of democracy, which always confronts two major problems: the first to give effective expression to the majority opinion; second, to develop its own leadership. Neither thing has been done in Germany. It is common practice for nations to retain experts in problems of revenue and currency; but it occurs to no one that peoples suddenly catapulted out of an ordered monarchial regime into a disordered popular government likewise need help and advice in the methods and instrumentalities of democracy. The Hitler movement in Germany is too vague, its leaders too limited, to offer salvation for her distrait sixty millions. It is about as significant at the moment as if one were to organize an Anti-Depression Alliance in America. The owners of capital, the industrialists and the best brains of Germany have abandoned her to her fate; her people are like a bewildered herd and bewildered herds usually stampede.

The German problem is the world's problem for three obvious reasons: chaos there means a tremendous loss to and weakening of the forces opposed to Bolshevism and Communism, although Germany will never of her own choice turn to either. Financial collapse in Germany means severe embarrassment and danger to the capital structures of England and America. It has already forced Great Britain off the gold basis. Civil war or anarchy in Germany means the destruction of one of the most useful members of the family of nations.

It is also now apparent, and it has been since the repudiation of President Wilson's League of Nations program by his countrymen, that the methods of statesmanship and diplomacy which worked in the days before 1914, will not work now and have not worked since 1918. It is as though a good bowman were suddenly put in charge of an aircraft battery. No statesman or diplomat can today formulate or commit his people to a foreign policy; before the ink is dry on his pronouncement, a new government or ministry may have succeeded him or public opinion have been recorded adversely in a popular election. This simple fact must be reckoned with and has been completely disregarded in action. Not alone has democracy forced upon the masses the great tasks of managing their affairs at home but as well the more difficult undertaking of directing them abroad. This presents almost insuperable obstacles: crises in international affairs rarely will await the formulation of popular opinion into anything like tangible or demonstrable forms. International statesmanship becomes therefore a matter of anticipating the populace, a kind of clairvoyance of their ultimate position. There are political geniuses who can do this, but they are too rare and uncertain to depend on their fortuitous appearance at the moment of need.

A way must be found for peoples to speak to peoples, and having spoken and found a common accord, then to leave it to statesmen and diplomats to execute the common viewpoint. As a crude and pioneer step in that direction, it is proposed that, under either philanthropic or journalistic auspices, clearly unrelated to governments or finance, there be called a Convocation of Public Opinion, to which shall be invited 50 representatives of each of 10 nations. The cost would not exceed $100,000. The invitation would be issued through either the press or the International Chamber of Commerce. To avoid political efforts to control or gain places on the national representations, the invitation would be specific and retroactive, as follows: directors of the largest ten banks of the country, the responsible heads of the largest ten industries, the largest ten labor unions, the largest ten agricultural associations, the qualified professors of the largest ten educational institutions. The press and government representations are intentionally excluded; the one reports, the other executes, but neither expresses public opinion. The convocation would have a prescribed duration of thirty days; those in attendance would be guests of the invitors; the presiding officers and staff would be selected by the invitors; the agenda would be designated by the invitors and limited to the following; upon which obviously action could go no further than resolution, but such resolutions would have a weight measurable by their degree of unanimity:

(1) That upon Germany's pledge in substance, as indicated in the memorial printed on a later page (133), reparations be left to the next generation, and all discussion thereon be postponed to a date not earlier than 1950.

(2) That a free list or free lists be agreed upon for trade between the represented nations until 1950, to stimulate international commerce and retard overproduction.

(3) That the currencies of the represented nations be pegged, one as against the other, until 1950.

(4) That legal restrictions and prejudicial judicial practices be abolished and laws affecting sales, insurance and negotiable instruments, and procedure in contract actions, be made uniform.

(5) That an international commercial credit association be formed, its stock subject to subscription by banks, corporations, governments and individuals, for use *solely* in financing and developing international trade, the same to be administered by a board of one director selected by the government of each participating nation, a two-thirds vote being requisite to any loan or appropriation of the capital funds; the corporation to be dissolved in 1950.

(6) Finally, as the most drastic but most nec-

essary proposal in the agenda of this Convocation of Public Opinion, that a capital levy tax be assessed on the private and corporate wealth of all affected nations, the proceeds thereof to be, of course, at the sole direction and control of the constituted authorities of the state, for the purpose of meeting problems of industry, commerce, finance and unemployment, and for these purposes only. The capital levy tax is neither a novelty nor socialistic; it came very near to enactment in Switzerland not many years ago, and that any taint or suspicion of socialism be removed therefrom, let it be provided that the proceeds of the levy shall be earmarked, and upon the eventual passing of the present crisis, it shall to the extent possible, be refunded from normal revenues, and returned to the taxpayers. That such a procedure mechanically is practical one finds precedent in the operation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, adopted by America upon entry into the late war. Men are drafted in war and returned to their families alive, wounded or dead. To avoid national ruin, which faces a half dozen important nations, it is utterly sound to draft capital, and return what may remain, when the crisis is past, for after all human bodies are a bit more worthy of consideration than hoarded gold. To "call up," as is said of different classes of drafted soldiers in time of wars, a portion of the wealth of the individual citizen is after all precisely the same as to muster in one of his four sons, and is quite in accord with common corporate practice of transferring a part of the earned profits from surplus accounts to capital in order that the business shall carry on. Although usually true of the individual, it is necessarily true of great corporations that their surpluses have been accumulated solely out of a general prosperity, to which all contributed; and a dozen corporations in the United States had at the beginning of this year combined surpluses in excess of America's first Liberty Loan for the World War. If ever in human events it ought be clear to the Bourbon mind that his wealth was gained from (and can and may be taken back by the same process, if reversed) the labors of his fellowmen and the resources of his country, it ought to be now; already world depression and mass panic have taken from him perhaps two-thirds of what he thought was vested in him, and this without the slightest appeal to force. He can not use what is left more to his own interest than to pledge, loan or even give a part of it to save the part which still remains. Let there be none of howling that an assessment of capital is class legislation and unfair to those who by their skill and genius have accumulated wealth. Is it not apparent that all the skill and genius in the world avails naught to the individual without the voluntary or enforced cooperation of his fellowmen? Is it not apparent that the great majority of peoples of all countries have compulsorily contributed a very substantial part of their earnings—and that their contribution is irretrievable—by the simple device of currency inflation. The middle classes of Germany contributed their all by the inflation of 1922 and were not even given a chance to argue about it, and the wage earners and peasants of France endured in part, the same experiences and the English workman is today meeting the same type of capital levy. The masses of the world might pray most fervently—forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors—if it were to apply to the patient submissiveness, with which they have met the financial collapse of the governments they trusted implicitly. Fortunately there is no one man or even ascertainable group of men who can properly be called before the wearied masses of their countries to explain how it is honest for a government to settle its debts to them at a fraction of their face value while they must pay in full and through the nose to their creditors; yes, fortunately there are none who can be called to face these angry mobs with an explanation, for they are in no mood to understand the fine distinctions of national honor and finance. They were bled white in the war, their capital confiscated in peace, and they face starvation because there is no work. If capital contributes a portion of what it has left, it will be cheap insurance, for the destruction of civil war far exceeds that of foreign conflicts, and is apt to come very near home. To avoid undue hardships and disturbance of security and real estate markets which might result from the compulsory liquidation of capital to pay such a levy in money, it may readily be provided that it shall, as it were, be paid in kind, for the enrichment of the government credit will accomplish what is needed, if we reconsider some of our obsolete notions of foreign exchange and currency standards. Again, the experience of the American government in its sequestration of enemy alien property will afford guides in the administration of such a capital assessment. The legal and economic justice of such a plan is indisputable; the poetic justice of it will be in pinching the traitors among the wealthy who have sucked their country's blood by exporting their capital, and astute and sincere governments will assess the levy as of a sufficiently anterior date to balance the accounts with these despicable rats, who sought to leave the sinking ship of their homeland. A specially astute and sincere nation would as well assess a surtax of one hundred per cent on all profits of the past ten years from short sales of the country's currency, commodities and securities, for such acts are of equal iniquity with the flight of capital when one's country is in distress; and those who have participated in either, are by judicial proof and established laws guilty of crimes against the government.

It is safe to say that in every distressed country, at least ninety per cent of the population face fears that drive to madness, because less than ten per cent of the country manage its affairs, and do so selfishly, which is bad enough; stupidly, which is worse, and hypocritically, which is unforgivable, because they are chiefly concerned in salvaging the wealth and perpetuating the control of their class.

A true patriotism will do for them what true religion does to the false priest, for to both religion and patriotism the greatest danger lies from the wolves in sheep's clothing.

A trained advocate makes no generalization for which he has not the proof. That the proof is withheld is only to save governments from the destruction of violence; that names are withheld is that irradicable blots may not be hurled upon still respected escutcheons; and that bewildered masses may not lose faith in all things, as they have in autocracy, and theocracy, in prophets, clergy and kings.

As there are those for whom the conviction is strong that the expenditure for national armaments is at least a contributing cause, if not the principal reason, for the world depression, there might be added to the agenda of this Convocation of Public Opinion the proposal that, as a sincere and practical solution of this problem, the known producers of armament in and for each nation represented, shall be required to submit the full details of their operations to an international body empowered to approve or disapprove the manufacture and delivery of war materials when ordered by any of the constituent nations. It is commonly known that in times past the business of manufacturing wars was well organized and princely fortunes and great estates have been built thereon and that the agent provocateur was as definite a calling in Europe as that of the travelling salesman in America. It is clear that wars can not be made without weapons; that weapons can not be made except with heavy and easily identified equipment; and that the manufacture thereof can not be concealed because of the sheer necessity of space for construction. Now, if there is sincerity at all in the avowed desire to decrease armaments, it is not by eternal parleys and meaningless treaties. Certainly weapons of war are inherently dangerous articles for the human race. If it be reasonable to discuss the limitation of the manufacture and transportation of opium, it is quite as reasonable, and far easier in practice, to limit the manufacture and transportation of arms and military equipment. If today there were a power recognized to control the output of say not over ten great manufacturing establishments, we would have hit close to the heart of the disarmament problem. No sound legal objections exist to such control, but only assertive public opinion can bring it to pass, for, while talking peace and disarmament at Geneva, the principal nations of Europe are arming to the teeth, and out of the international hypocrisy can come no good, any more than out of national and individual double-facedness.

Perhaps nowhere in the world history have the swift transitions of change shown themselves more definitely than in France and Germany. France has brought democracy to its maximum efficiency thus far; viz., its present domination of gold, reparations, diplomacy, arms, aircraft, Germany struggles in a pathetic effort to make democracy work, but it will be out of Germany that international democracy will come, if she is intelligent in her present crisis and shows, as she will eventually, if the crisis is not too imminent and acute, the same skill in organizing public opinion as she did in organizing her armies and industries. At the moment she flounders. There is great danger not of revolution, but involution and dictatorship, because her 60,000,000 people, working as they are with new tools of democracy, a futile press, frightened by the myth of a labor vote and power of labor unions and fearful of the ghost of socialism, cannot yet consolidate the public opinion of her masses, much less find the means to express it, and being unable to make up her own mind coherently, she is at the mercy of others and in the shadow of dictatorship as the only means of making up her own mind. She is experiencing that recurrent phenomenon of human nature, as did the Italians, the people seeking a symbol. Mussolini has become an electric DUX in Italy, Hindenburg's age prevents that in Germany; Hitler, who knows how to symbolize, may prevail. Germany has only one idea today, she cannot and will not pay reparations. Countless simple, industrious families stand on the brink of starvation and destruction because here, as in America, there is no supreme command. It is the story again of the early days of the Western front in the Great War. How clear it is that the glory of great generalship in the future lies in marshalling, directing and compelling public opinion; and that the armament of the future is the press, the radio and talking cinema.

Surely politics and patriotism will play a great part in procuring man's substantial happiness, and no man will have or should have it who here fails to take his part. The Christian soldiers of the future will thus march onward, rather than in the regiment of a defeated and obsolete army of the church. Let true patriotism guide intelligent politics and we shall find peace through the fundamental common sense and desires of mankind, justice through wise laws and happiness through a society which can be happy by each availing of his own resources and none encroaching on the others.

As one comes to see the world and see it whole, an extremely rare experience in human affairs, these conclusions become dominant: viz., that the elements of humanity are as uniform as trees; that the same problems of humanity are common to every people; that the causes of the wretchedness of humanity are the same in every country and every stage of history. The distillation which leads to these conclusions is so difficult that it is seldom accomplished. Tourist travel cannot accomplish it, any more than it would be possible to form a correct view of human nature by going only to the playhouses. Even the contacts of diplomacy do not bring such results, because those engaged therein are, by calling, committed to preexistent views. It falls generally only to journalists and traders who, without conscious effort, come to see humanity in true perspective; but unfortunately in the former there develops a certain cynical silence, and in the latter there is seldom found any spark of interest beyond commercial profit and loss.

It is not infrequently said and written, that with nations, there are so varying characteristics that what may tend to human happiness in one country avails nothing in another. This is apparent and not real, as far as the great majority are concerned. It is a fiction which has been cultivated and maintained, lest the great majority of people of all countries discover that their wants and desires are the same, that their interests are in common. The distinctions between peoples of different nations are due either to one of two conditions; their countries may be at different stages of civilization, as for instance, Belgium and the Congo; or those distinctions are the results of acquired traits, developed by refinements of their upper, ruling or leisure classes. For instance, in the folk songs of all peoples, there is an obvious similarity in the elements used to make music; in the food-traits of all peoples, there is a similarity in the expression of thirst and hunger, varying only in the preparation of the food and the presence or absence of certain raw materials; every human being requires vitamins, carbohydrates, etc., and hunger expresses a common human need. Even the commercial activities and legal relations among different peoples of the same advancement in civilization are the same; barter, agency to increase the scope of barter, contractual obligations, insurance against risk, punishment for wrongs and violations of contractual and social obligations and some medium of just arbitrament. Supporting references might be given *ad libitum.* Whatever his tongue, every sailor resembles every other and has with him a common language. The locomotive engineer of the Chemin de Fer, the Deutsche Reichsbahn or the Pennsylvania Railroad must be much the same quality of man. Nine out of ten men and boys love to fish, and little girls play with dolls in every backyard and women powder their noses quite universally. At some time or other, every mortal knows what faith in God means, what love and a desire for children is, what patriotism stirs within him, what dealing justly requires, what self-respect and ambition excite in his bosom. The rogue is often the embittered idealist and the prostitute, a defeated mother. Yet in the face of these common unities of life, man has taken it upon himself to recast and refine life out of all semblance to what God Almighty intended it to be.

In religion he has concocted holy wars over phrases, he has inverted the natures of millions of fine men and women by religious orders, he has spun out theologies so abstract as to be meaningless, he has made saints out of the few and clay out of the many; he has destroyed the soul's courage to live, much less to die; he has, in short, by his theories all but killed man's native admiration, worship and understanding of his Creator.

Out of political theories, ethnic hypotheses and super-refined reasoning, he has converted the purely natural love of one's native heath into narrow, contentious nationalism, seeking a place in the sun for some imaginary racial ambition, about which the great majority do not give a damn, until they are "hopped up" to it by hypodermics of propaganda.

Out of psychoanalysis, sex stimulus and exaltation, he has perverted the healthy natural love of man and woman and the desire to propagate into worse than savage rites and emblazoned sex as the dominant motif on the coat of arms of man.

Out of economic theorizing, fanciful ideas of trade and artificial concepts of law, he has made the very simple desire of every man, without stealing from his fellowman, to make a living, profitably to employ his time, support his dependents and provide a home and comforts for his family, a complicated matter of customs, tariffs, monetary standards, corporations, property rights, inheritance and taxation.

By a system of artificial restraints, unnecessary inhibitions and false doctrines, he has so crushed within the average man the innate ambition and pride of the human soul, that he never dreams of better things than being watered, fed, stabled and hooked to someone else's plough, like the oxen of his much freer and more independent ancestor.

Now all of this has happened from one or both of but two causes: first, the desires of those who were strong enough to make cattle out of the great majority and to amuse themselves by delving into God's business and recasting His world so they would get more out of it in luxury, lust and sensuality; or second, the precocious idea of egocentric "scholars" who have enjoyed the mental delights of the agitation of ideas and theories.

Happily, if it is the first cause mentioned which has wrought these wretched results, it was extirpated in 1914-1918 by that most ironic of wars, in which the oligarchs and plutocrats of the Western world, by the most colossal stupidity of history, succeeded in destroying for themselves the basis of their own power and freeing the great majority of all people in every nation to seek their own true and substantial happiness.

If it is the second cause mentioned, either in whole or in part, let us be rid of it by our own independence of thought and resolution to establish in our time not a Renaissance, not a Victorian Age, not a scientific world, but the *Era of Simplicity and Justice*—let us try, for a while at least, simply to have faith in God and not in so-called philosophers and scientists and to follow nature, not self-appointed rulers or man-made economic theories and political "isms." It does not make the slightest difference what religious creeds men follow or form of government they live under, as long as the heart of man and the soul of woman are free to guide the destinies of the human race.

Let no one doubt the outcome of such an Era of Simplicity and Justice—the problem is how to bring it to pass. It is coming to pass. Within a generation we have seen the miracle of the passing of an official ruling class; we have witnessed an upheaval inconceivable in its results; we have taken part in the drama by which emperors, prophets, priests and kings have passed off the stage of the human drama. We have ourselves been temporarily stunned and hurt in the collapse of the capitalist structure. We live today in the unavoidable chaos of the result of such cataclysmic changes; God grant that we shall know that "still stands his ancient sacrifice, a humble and a contrite heart." Out of the chaos, we must and shall rebuild a greater world; the best is truly yet to be.

In rebuilding it, we have but two problems; first, not to cloud our vision with bitterness over the past or hatred toward those of that past regime, who, perhaps inevitably, believed that it was their world to be exploited as they saw fit, they are gone—*nil nisi bonum;* let us even be charitable towards them, for there are scarcely more pathetic figures in the world than the offspring of that old regime; too intelligent to *know* anything: too inbred to be able to work; too frail in many cases even to pass on to posterity the blue blood which it took centuries of human suffering to produce.

The second great problem in building out of present wreckage the happier Era of Simplicity and Justice, and the greatest single problem of our day, is to find the means of communicating internationally the common opinions of the great majority, and of getting into action, through national governments, these common opinions. It is absolutely true that Fifty Million Frenchmen Can't Be Wrong; but it is almost certain, at the present moment, that their government will be. We have a stupendously difficult task in perfecting the machinery of democracy, and doing it before the present inadequate experimental machinery breaks down. Suffrage, however unlimited or generally availed of, does not, in itself, accomplish the result. Public education helps but we have scarcely time for it, for we are working against time, against spies and snipers who would wreck this new found world democracy, and there are despots and traitors who will use the press to poison the wells of public opinion. At a later time, let us consider these means and methods of safeguarding and making work the will of the great majority, and turn now to the problems it must itself deal with.

There is, first, the matter of paying for the Great War. No question is settled until it is settled right. That has not been settled right. The wrongness of it has hung like a cloud over humanity, and as much as any single cause produced the economic depression throughout the world. This is readily demonstrable. Would it do to deal with it thus: let the new generation in Germany say to the people of the world this:

> The young people of Germany who did not make the Great War but who must pay for it, appeal to the victorious nations of the world, believing that since their future has been bonded they have a right to be heard in the Court of World Opinion on how they shall pay the debt incurred by the former German Empire. They neither affirm nor deny war guilt but leave that to the considered and eventual determination of history. They do not ask charity for their Fatherland or broach the question of justice at Versailles.
>
> Each of those who have signed this petition is between the ages of 18 and 21, in each instance the abode and residence is given and the genuineness of every signature is attested. Each of those who have signed this petition is taking or pledges himself or herself to take their full part in the restoration of the German Reich and the complete fulfilment of its just obligations to other nations of the world. They pledge themselves to resist any change of Government in Germany either to monarchy or Communism and to exert their best endeavors to bring back and make of use in the German economy the vast sums of capital which have traitorously been taken out of the country and for which Germany stands justly criticized by its creditor nations.
>
> On the faith of these pledges, we petition the nations interested in international debts,

indemnities and reparations, to consent, as between themselves and toward Germany, to leave all but the matter of indemnities to determination not earlier than the year 1950, with the express understanding and stipulation that this shall be wholly without prejudice to all and any of the nations affected and that during this period debtor and creditor nations shall agree to postpone the demand for and the collection of both principal and interest on these debts. Germany shall continue bound to pay all indemnities as the same have been settled or shall be settled by international agreement, and the private debts of the German economy shall be met as rapidly as her capacity to pay will permit, the same to be determined by such commission as shall be agreeable to her creditors without German representation officially therein.

In support of that act of grace which we seek for our Fatherland we submit for the reasoned consideration of the world the following propositions:

1.) The world needs a "cooling time" as that phrase has long been known in that country of the world where the administration of law has reached its surest application.

2.) No nation surrenders any right or escapes any obligation, least of all does any nation surrender its self-respect.

3.) The capacity of all nations to pay will be demonstrated in the only manner actually final which has been recognized as the ultimate factor by those two nations which have led the world in their governmental achievement, not alone in *liberté, égalité, fra-*

ternité but in the approach to genuine justice to mankind.

4.) The way will be cleared for necessary international private loans by "funding through delay" present international obligations and clearing national balance-sheets of what from a bankers' standpoint must be regarded as fixed and current obligations.

5.) The lapse of time will solve the impasse confronted by those sincere statesmen who today feel themselves committed to or by their constituencies because of past declarations made under totally different conditions.

6.) In a generation these statesmen who have tried so hard and magnificently, according to their lights and training, to deal with these problems of unprecedented intricacy, will have been succeeded by statesmen, uncommitted in the heat of events which crowded close upon the end of the Great War, unbiassed by their own participation in the cruelties and atrocities which attend all war; by statesmen who do not have to be consistent with declarations made in the heat of the post-war difficulties; by statesmen who are trained in and reflect that new school of political thought which recognizes economics as the final arbiter even in the affairs of nations.

7.) And those statesmen will be in a position to settle these tremendously involved problems on the basis of known facts unimpeded by an uninformed public, for by that time the public will have concerned itself in the greater tasks of reconstruction, if the world gets well and if it does not it will not matter, for present governments will have passed.

8.) The sheer economy of the situation will bring for the world through its major and dominant nations an assured period of twenty years of peace, at least among the western nations and

9.) For those who still treasure and believe in the concept of international peace through a League of Nations, it will afford a just and deserved opportunity to demonstrate whether civilization has advanced to the point where war is no longer necessary and "The Parliament of Man" an attainable ideal.

And let the peoples of the world respond with a simple affirmative.

There is, too, the problem of the economic depression. Is there only Yankee common sense in the following viewpoint, expressed *a year* ago:

When experienced American and European manufacturers ship their merchandise, they package the goods according to the custom of the country of destination and label them with language and directions which are intelligible to the consumers. Those who assume to talk and write upon economic subjects might take a leaf from the books of these merchants. No single subject has been of greater interest and concern to millions the world over than the sudden disappearance of prosperity from the richest and most powerful country on the globe. No single subject has invited or received more consideration by minds of huge experience and great knowledge; literally tons of paper pulp have been used to print speeches, studies, charts, analyses, proposals and remedies for and concerning the economic depression in the United States. To revert to our analogy, most of these expositions are unopened in their original packages, because they are not intelligible to the average man or put forth in a way he can understand them.

When over sixty millions of adult Americans are convinced as to the causes of, and reasonably certain of the cure for the present industrial and business depression, it will vanish like a mist over a mountain lake. Had the Declaration of Independence been expressed in the parlance of contemporary political science, there would be no fourth of July celebration in America. Had the Constitution been written in the language of chancellors, Rhode Island would have lost its early distinction. Had Christianity been stated in the language of ecclesiasticism, there would have been no Christendom, and had the legal and economic aspects of human slavery been the treatment adopted in the Emancipation Proclamation, the national capitols of this country would have been in Philadelphia and Richmond. It is the genius of great leadership to express things simply; and it is the genius of great intellects to reduce things to their simplest terms.

If a revival of industry in this country is to await a general revision of the economic elements of European tariffs, the gold standard, international reparations and settlement, the World Court, the Sherman and Clayton acts and world-wide sugar and wheat cartels and agreements, raising one's own food on a chicken farm is going to be the destination of a lot of good American citizens. This is not to say that such intricate matters are to be disregarded or to disparage the efforts being made toward their solution, but, if we could first get our segment of humanity to functioning normally, it will be prudent and afford more time scientifically to solve these intricate problems.

Two things become increasingly apparent: first, that, disregarding all political precepts and economic doctrine, this blessed country of ours has seemed right in trusting mass intelligence to solve its political problems, in permitting the desire for wealth and luxury to take its natural course, in treating natural resources as something God gave us to use, in permitting labor to organize for its own protection, in repressing monopoly and combination only where they become a public menace, in paying wages out of all proportion to the rest of the world, in treating science as the handmaiden of industry rather than its mistress, in encouraging the average man to dare to become a capitalist, and, even to be an optimist, by pledging his future earnings to meet the present desires, as distinguished from the immediate necessities of himself and his family.

We have violated most of the doctrinaire principles of Adam Smith, et al.; we have been reckless with our forests and our mines and our oils and our minerals; we have spurned the shibboleth of saving against a rainy day; we have made idols of successful men; we have paid preposterous wages; we have built incredible fortunes; we have allowed gargantuan combinations of capital, and failed to repress speculation in land and securities; yet we have survived and prospered; we have twisted the beard of Old Man Economics and have committed every heresy, except free silver and free trade.

Our conduct has shocked the wise and amazed the orthodox. We have either been right or wrong, and we are going to know which before long. It is no time to boast, but it is time to realize that the American public is utterly objective; it has neither time nor inclination for theories and is yearning for outstanding individualized leadership. There is no one in America today, in the political or financial world, whom the public or any considerable part thereof is willing to follow. When he finds the man in whose integrity and judgment he can put his faith, the average man will follow him and his theories will not much count; if he is big enough to lead, he will be big enough to yield on his theories, if they are wrong; and he will be strong enough to carry them through if they are right. No one man could have believed in or followed all of them, but Bryan, Roosevelt and Wilson provided the kind of leadership which the American public follow and will continue to until its youthful ebullience disappears in decadency; and it is more apt to form its judgment from the human observations of a former comedian than from the trite truisms of an ex-President or the treatises of experts. This is no sign of ignorance, any more than the relegation into limbo of the infant damnation theory. May it not be that such concepts were no more foreign to the truth than the accepted ideas of Victorian political economists? Idol smashing has been one of the most profitable activities of civilization, and it would be a stupendous historical blunder for this America of ours, because of a temporary set-back, to lose courage and confidence in its former convictions that the way of prosperity and human happiness lies in bold objectivity and not economic charts.

There is no reason in the world, and that expression is used literally, why this country can not, in short order, move into greater and more general prosperity than it has heretofore known. Nor is the wish father to the thought, as we shall perceive in analyzing the immediate situation and after respectfully inquiring into those economic generalizations which tell us that America has seen its best days and must now take "pot luck" with the rest of a distressed and hopeless world.

The fact is that the immediate future of the rest of the world depends on America, and not America's future on the rest of the world.

The fact is that in dealing successfully with our own depression, we are rendering high services to the rest of humanity.

The fact is that American industrial ideas and economic concepts are nearer right than a good many doctrines held sacrosanct for centuries, and that the present transitory depression, perceived in true perspective, has about the significance of a tire blowout in the operation of a well built, well balanced, strongly engined and mechanically sound motor car.

The first necessity, is to get present events into true perspective; the second, is to find leadership; the third is to have faith in our own convictions, and, finally, to go ahead.

It has long been clear to some of us that business is being held back by the securities market, and not the securities market by business. However simple it may sound, a general conviction on this point in important circles, would have immediate and far reaching results. One is almost inclined to paraphrase the words of a great American admiral—"to hell with the formulas" It may have been true that in every previous industrial depression the stock market reflected and followed business conditions; that is no evidence that it is true now. The evidence is to the contrary, and was so recognized for the first time in the current business reviews of last May by great credit reporting agencies of this country. It was said of the Bourbons that they never learned anything, and never forgot anything. At the moment, Bourbonism is in the ascendancy in the world of finance; and men whose opinions were of moment in 1929, who, upon careful study, stated that security levels of that year would in a decade seem low, have been conspicuously silent, yet there are very definite reasons for still believing they were right, although to suggest it now seems close to idiocy. Let us see what has happened: in 1917, the American public, as a whole, first learned to buy securities in the Liberty Bond campaigns, which were organized and manned chiefly by security salesmen, of high and low degree; naturally, those security salesmen followed up the new leads, after their patriotic duties ended; to both the general public and distributors of securities new fields opened, and from that point on the American people began to become security minded. The ticker replaced the cracker barrel in small communities. With typical American zeal, we carried it too far and with as yet no revealed proximate economic cause, millions of people who thought they were investors, were suddenly hurled into the abyss of ruined speculators. No one has ever settled the question which came first, the hen or the egg; and a very considerable number of the American people are in doubt as to whether a threatened business depression wrecked the stock market, or the heart failure of an overstrained stock market caused business to collapse. A vicious circle of events has followed. The frequent expression that the present depression is psychological is nonsense; it is either logical or illogical; it is either the sound conclusion of a *syllogism* or the regrettable result of a *non sequitur*. Either the years preceding the collapse of 1929 were a period of inflation or they were the justifiable anticipation of expanding business, and there is a strong probability that history will demonstrate the correctness of the latter view. We may yet learn that ten million American stock market investors, or speculators, if you like, can not be wrong, any more than the famous fifty million Frenchmen. But right or wrong, what has been the result of the stock market debacle: it is safe to say that in the summer of 1929 the attention of at least one third of our total population was focused on the securities market; it is safe to say that, to a lesser degree it still is so focused either in shattered disappointments or clinging hopes. It is inevitable that, having identified prosperity, rightly or wrongly, with advancing security markets, their persistent downward movement should indicate to that mass of people the disappearance of prosperity.

If millions of our people, untutored in economics and security price movements, reckoned that things went well when security prices were high, juvenile as it may seem, and the public is juvenile, they likewise reckon that things are not going well when security prices are low. This is the new factor which sets at naught analogy from past depressions and old formulas; and makes short selling, on the racketeering basis it has followed for the past years, nothing less than treason to the country.

The public mind, and that is not the Wall Street mind, for like east and west never the twain shall meet, is partially persuaded, from constant repetition, that the real cause of the present depression is overproduction, and that what has happened, is what Spencer and others predicted as the inevitable outcome of the introduction of machinery in lieu of hand labor. Some authoritative economist ought to disabuse the public mind of this fallacy. There may be and there is mal-distribution, there may be and there is under-consumption, but how can it possibly be said that there is overproduction, when half the human race has not the things it needs, much less what it wants; when the progress of the world is such that the luxuries of today are the necessities of tomorrow. No one regards the automobile as a luxury, even for a Hottentot; and a radio is becoming as much a necessity as a daily newspaper; from tooth brushes to electric refrigerators there is enough potential consumption in the world to exhaust the production of all its present machinery. The same is true of commodities, and it takes no prophetic vision to realize that, rather than standing on the precipice of disaster, the industrial world is witnessing the dawn of a tomorrow, if it has the courage, as it has the skill, to avail of it. How can it be said, that the world is over-shipped, when there is an existent need for countless tons of manufactured goods in the more remote and less developed parts of the world? How can it be said that there is a surplus of raw materials when half the human race is not properly fed or clothed? How can it be said there are impossible congestions of population, when there are boundless acres waiting human industry to convert them to profitable production? All this dead reckoning of obsolete economics leaves out of view how the automobile, wireless communication, aerial navigation, mechanical refrigeration, central heating, and other achievements of invention and engineering, have literally changed the face of the globe. It is as absurd to take our economics from the theories of times anterior to these inventions, as to take our therapeutics from the days before Harvey discovered the circulation of blood. Human beings need be neither isolated nor uncomfortable at the North Pole or on the equator, and these simple human facts, if none other existed, would change the whole course of industrial events. Another element which must be given due consideration in getting present events into true perspective, is the fact that international credit and finance have never in the history of the world been so well mobilized or facile as they are today. What then is lacking to an era of world-wide prosperity, other than vision to see, courage to do and leadership to lead?

And it is this leadership which is the second necessity for the prompt correction of the present depression. In our day, we are running too much to the Chamber of Commerce idea. Whether it be a community or a nation, it follows a man, not a Rotary Club, or a Chamber of Commerce. Briand is worth more in visualizing world peace to the average man than the League of Nations, just as Clemenceau and Lloyd George were worth a dozen cabinets in the shadow of national defeat. Stresemann did more for Germany's stability than the Dawes Plan; and the Prince of Wales is doing more to revive industry in England than its House of Lords.

The third necessity of the present situation is to have faith in our own convictions: that America still needs and will best serve the world by maintaining a reasonably high protective tariff as to its essential industries; that high wages are necessary to prosperity; that parsimonious thrift and miserly saving are more dangerous than a reasonable demand for luxury and a modicum of waste; that great fortunes are not a menace if earned by extraordinary courage and ability; that supplantive competition, however destructive, is in the end a good thing; that fear for tomorrow's bread and butter is more damaging than a little stretching of one's credit to push the family up a peg to better things, and that the war did not wreck the world, but rather served, in Carlyle's phrase, to burn it over so that it could grow green again.

To be concrete, reduce the foregoing to a formula: $A + B - C = P$. Let A represent a reasoned statement of conviction by one of the great capitalists of this country who represents the remote but ultimate control of one or more of the corporations, which are symbolized by B in the above formula; C refers to that group of, say not over twenty men, who are the dominant figures of the "bear" group on and off the floor of the New York Stock Exchange. Symbols are used, not because names are unknown, but it will serve no purpose to state them.

There are *three* corporations, among others, for which B stands in the above formula, which have according to their last general reports, surpluses aggregating over *a billion and a quarter dollars,* earned and accumulated out of American prosperity, represented by P in the above formula. Therefore, let B in the above formula represent resumed activity at determined price levels by these corporations with the announced policy that out of faith in America's future and certainty of the return of a normal buying power and demand these corporations will resort, if necessary, to their surpluses to maintain prices and wages and replace their depleted inventories against the not far distant day when the people of this country smile at their foolish fears and come to their senses. Such part of the surplus, if any, as may be actually used will be bread cast upon the waters, for it will mean the restoration of inventories at raw material costs which will not again be possible in this country and an ultimate profit, if, for the moment, we subordinate "styling" and supplantive competition. C in the formula is the suppression of organized short selling, bear raiding, gang practises and racketeering on the New York Stock Exchange, to be stopped by an appeal to justice and patriotism: justice, because it is unfair that the public should have their investments impaired by conditions in no way caused by or related to economic principles or the earning power, management or future of the enterprises in which they have invested; *patriotism,* because men who would not *trade with* a national enemy should not *trade on* the weakened morale of their country.

Leadership expressed not in predictions and prosperity promises but in terms of reason which the average man can understand, and coupled with a show of faith which is not faith without works, plus the deliberate resumption of business on faith and, if necessary, out of surpluses; minus the mobilization and exploitation of public fear, will over the next decade produce a prosperity which our country has never known.

It is a wiser formula than using surpluses to pay taxes to pay a dole; than hazarding plant and equipment before the onslaught of mobs of unemployed who will use force before they starve, than setting civilization back a century by abandoning the doctrine of humanity which has been America's great contribution to progress, namely, that man does not live by bread alone, that the end of existence is not labor for sustenance and that a decent amount of leisure and some luxury is the birthright of every human being.

There is the problem of currency standards. Can it be that here, too, there is as simple a solution as that suggested by the laconic comment of a great English banker:

> "The immediate choice before this country is inescapable. Either we must have a soundly managed gold standard, which would only be secured by well-ordered international action, or we must abandon gold definitely and rely on a managed standard, without any metallic basis at all."

Perhaps, if we view boldly enough certain perfectly obvious facts, we shall find that all of these problems are rendered difficult and insoluble, because we are unconsciously applying to their solution theories of an obsolete regime. For instance, we are seeking to work out the reparation problem by diplomacy; but diplomacy is not an instrument safely to be used by democracy, in fact, for perfectly clear reasons, it cannot be used at all, as we have repeatedly seen, since no statesman or government can now bind the majority of the people: hence, we shall here have to use new methods, so that foreign policies shall be the expression of majority opinion, and this method precludes diplomacy. Heretofore, foreign policies have been made for a people, now inevitably they must be made by the people—and diplomats must leave the stage with those whom they served so faithfully.

A very small percentage of the public is interested in anything which does not affect them personally or their heirs or next of kin. This may lead to cynical comment, but the fact remains that it is the stuck pig that squeals and he is not concerned much with however many others may be stuck, if he is not one of them. As long as employment is general, very few people are interested in protective tariffs or free trade, and while prosperity abounds tax rates and official waste and corruption are a matter of public indifference. Conditions of vice flourish in communities until it engulfs the daughter or son of a prominent citizen and gangsters shoot *ad libitum,* until they interfere with payrolls or fashionable jewelry shops. Examples might be multiplied, and the generalization applies nowhere more clearly than in the matter of international practice and in common application. A one o'clock closing ordinance for cabarets is a matter of lively public concern; the fact that the world is trying to carry on international trade, travel and communication with a flagrantly indefinite and impotent code of law is "nobody's business," to use a colloquial phrase, despite the present depression.

A considerable number of American firms and individuals are apt to awaken to this condition if the German government enforces its currency measures in accordance with the recent Hindenburg-Bruening decree. The following are the practical effects of the decree as reported by the staff correspondent of the *New York Sun:*

"Germans, or foreigners resident in Germany, are entitled to secure foreign money for legitimate needs at the rate of 200 marks ($47.70) a month. There is many an instance when this sum is not sufficient for business purposes, but the law is strict and only by a tedious rigmarole of red tape may permission be obtained to get more.

"Foreigners resident in Germany for six months or more are required to offer the Reichsbank any sum of foreign money they may possess over the value of 2000 marks ($477), receiving marks in return. By a late decree this also applies theoretically to such 'claims upon foreign money' as drafts, letters of credit, checks, and so forth. Liberty may be had, however, in certain instances to retain such sums not in the form of cash, although it has now been ruled necessary to secure an official permit to carry a circular letter of credit (issued in New York and having no more to do with Germany than with France, Peru, or any other country) out of Germany, even on temporary trips.

"The above measures do not, naturally, apply to tourists passing through Germany in transit or remaining in the country less than four weeks. For those who do remain four weeks or more the usual permit becomes necessary to leave Germany with more than 200 marks in foreign money. Failure to attend to this detail caused an American banker to surrender his traveler's checks at the border a short while back."

Not alone to laymen but to some who pretend to a knowledge of law, it will come as a shock that retroactive legislation of this sort can legally impound and control an American's fortune, as it has already done in the case of the widow of an American consul-general, who converted her modest estate from dollars to German marks, because a dollar deposit received no interest.

The foreigner who asked what are Yonkers and the alderman who refused to approve the purchase of another gondola for Prospect Park lake, because it should be left to nature and the gondolas already on the lake, were not further from the facts than the illusion that there is anything like a working body of international law.

An American dentist practicing in a foreign city makes a definite agreement with a patient for the work necessary to be done. The agreement is repudiated when the work is finished. A lawsuit results. He is called upon to prove he was qualified to undertake the contract. He produces his American diploma and certificate of authority, showing a complete and thorough qualification for his profession. But in the country in which he is practicing, there are two kinds of dentists, to give their titles would be, as it were, to become internationally personal: one class may touch the human mouth, another may do the mechanical things necessary to equip the human mouth, where nature has failed; the latter happens in this foreign tongue to be described as a dentist; the American plaintiff's diploma says he has received a degree in dentistry; ah, then he can not recover in his action because a "dentist" could not legally contract to do the work he did. Weary months with ponderous requirements of evidence, consular certificates, translations, etc., etc., etc., and this defense is resolved in favor of the American dentist; but, then the defendant calls for proof by a score of witnesses to be named by the plaintiff who will accept the tender of oath to the fact that they know him to be competent to do the work he agreed to do and did do well; but the end is not yet, already more than a year has passed, his expenses have exceeded what he may at the utmost recover, and if he loses he will pay enormous costs or go to prison on a criminal charge of defrauding the state. Is this natural justice? To suggest international intervention would be met by a score of objections, supported by accredited authorities.

An American chauffeur, who ten years earlier had given his best and permanently injured his health as a fighting soldier to save Europe from herself, while driving an American-made car slowly through a narrow street of a foreign city is stopped by a shout from behind. For some inexplicable reason a young man has caught his foot under the rear wheel of the car and it has torn loose the sole of his shoe, with no other visible damage. Arrested, this American citizen spends two days in jail until he is able to raise three thousand dollars cash bail: eventually the actual fine is imposed at $27.00 and the insurance company settles the case for $200.00 and a year later, the deposited fine is not yet fully returned and the court records have disappeared. Only the peculiar type of mind which grows in the exotic atmosphere of state departments, embassies and foreign offices is able to demonstrate that there has been no breach of international law of natural justice and readily convinces itself that the American citizen received exactly the same treatment which would have been accorded the driver of a domestic car belonging, let us say, to a local merchant.

A foreigner happens to be present at a dress parade of a non-official military organization of a foreign state, as he might have been present at the last meeting of the American Legion in Detroit. He reports what he saw to a representative of his own government. He is arrested, tried *in camera* and sentenced to six months in prison. Is this natural justice; inquire at the chancellory and find by how much specious reasoning those learned in the law will prove that it is.

An American manufacturer with a foreign plant advertises that he is turning out so many cars a day. He is a believer in the five day week, known to be such the world over. The combined motor manufacturers of the foreign country bring suit to expose him as a fraud, because the public will be misled into believing he turns out so many cars each day for six days each week. Is this natural justice; it does not make much difference in this case, because it is wonderfully cheap advertising.

A foreigner gives a power of attorney to an agent to manage his estate in a European country. By collusion with public officials, the agent sells the estate for a fraction of its worth upon the ostensible ground that it was to prevent a greater loss from an inflation of currency. He had specific instructions under no circumstances to sell. The foreigner sues, the case is tried in his absence; he has no chance to testify; it is decided against him; he appeals; the judgment is affirmed, his property is irretrievably lost and now, if he enters that country he goes to prison, unless he first pays thousands of dollars in court costs.

A woman foreigner of distinguished antecedents, of unimpeachable integrity and virtue is sued on a fictitious loan by an adventurer, who had wrongfully sold jewelry, entrusted to him to put in safe keeping, of a value of $5,000 for $400. In a filed, written pleading he formally accuses her of being an international spy, a swindler and a criminal of the lowest order. She is more affected by the attack upon her character than the monetary loss or fictitious suit; she asks to be heard in defense of her name; this is denied, and the case goes to judgment without her being permitted to enter the courtroom, without the semblance of cross-examination of the plaintiff, without any witness appearing before the court, with unrestricted use of hearsay evidence in an effort to defame her character. Is this natural justice, ask those who are supposed to know and perceive how sophistry can be exalted to a legal wisdom?

An alert, ambitious and very intelligent young woman goes to a foreign capital to study. She engages a room at so much a week (again to express it in currency would be to indulge in international personalities). After a fortnight she decides to move to another center of learning; but her host, how delicious the irony, demands eighteen months rent, because he asserts, she hired the room until October of the following year; legally, if you please, he locks her in her room for forty-eight hours without food; when that has expired, a bailiff (this was not in England, the term bailiff is intentionally misleading) greets her with an order of seizure of her personal belongings; she is allowed to keep one hat, one coat, two pairs of stockings and two suits of underwear; the rest is sequestered; she telegraphs home for money; as she leaves the office of the American Express Company, all but the equivalent of $12.50 is taken from her; this durance vile continues more than a year, when the courts decide the landlord lied. Is this natural justice, of course, it is, any attaché of any foreign office can demonstrate it.

A deserting husband and father enamored of a soulless woman seeks divorce. No legitimate ground exists therefor; alert to his desperation, his wife in the courts of their domicile protects herself by a valid and enforcible injunction against him seeking to free himself of a solemnly contracted status and duty, in which the state, as well as his dependents, are legitimately concerned. He finds a foreign country, where, with full knowledge of the facts, a duly constituted tribunal will grant him a divorce. Is this the natural justice required by international law—hear it defended as such by his counsel.

The foregoing are actual incidents, with intentional minor variations and less drastically stated than they well might be. If it seems too amazing to be taken seriously, it must be remembered that international justice and the enforcement thereof is an *opera bouffe*. There is more truth than humor in the old story of the American collector who entered an art shop in a foreign city, and finding nothing of interest, left empty handed, his wife with him. Forthwith he was sued for a huge sum, again to state the currency would be to indulge in international personalities. He retained counsel; the case was tried, a half dozen supposed employees of the shop swore he selected and purchased and carried away a very valuable antique clock. Amazed he chided his native counsel for failing to make the slightest effort to break down the perjuries. With a benign smile, counsel refused to act, but eventually produced eight equally fictitious patrons of the shop who swore they saw his client enter, refuse to purchase and leave empty handed.

To one bred in the vigor of Anglo-Saxon justice, these events are barbarous. To one who feels any pride of country, that the great American nation should be supine before these outrages of natural justice, is tragic. To one who knows or feels aught of the weary struggle of mankind toward justice, there comes the feeling of despair. If this be the best product of international law, diplomacy and statecraft, we were better off when we adjudicated human wrongs, as our ancestors did in ancient England, by ordeals and arrived at justice through trial by battle.

The simple fact is that each case stated is a violation of international law, if properly conceived and administered.

But it is also the simple fact that in each instance, the probabilities of redress through international law, as it is presently administered, are remote to the point of being negligible, unless the offending nation is an insignificant South American republic or the great clumsy, honest, peaceful people of China.

What is to be done about it is less difficult than is assumed by those unfamiliar with the practical workings of international law as it affects the individual or business firm of foreign nationality.

Foreigners are entitled to "the most constant protection and security upon their persons and property and to enjoy in this respect that degree of protection that is required by international law." This is quoted from a recent treaty to which the United States of America is a signatory."

But those high sounding phrases are in themselves cold comfort for the American citizen who has lost property, health, or reputation by the wrongful action of "officials, branches or agencies" of a foreign state and for the penniless widow and orphans who have been robbed of their loved ones and support by international deviltry. Do these words and similar language in treaties, decisions and diplomatic *notes verbales* mean anything? The answer is that we have in practical effect today no recognized or enforcible system of international justice.

Though the heartbreaking results to the injured individual be dismissed from consideration, upon the ancient theory that the individual does not count in diplomacy or foreign policy, what does count is this, that international trade is being hindered and prevented from its natural development and expansion, that intercourse of learning and exchange of nationalistic concepts, is being hampered, by the fear of internationally sanctioned oppression and abuse of foreigners whose only recourse is to hope that perhaps their children's children may gain nominal recompense for their irremediable injuries.

That this situation exists is demonstrated by the elaborate provisions of the International Chamber of Commerce for commercial arbitration. International private arbitration, of course, provides no dependable or secure remedy for the injured foreigner, for it depends on consent, and is utterly inapplicable, when for instance, a law abiding American citizen is shot and killed by a drunken guard on the property of a foreign state; or where venal revenue officers loot a ship under pretext of collecting duties.

It would be interesting to collect in the chancelleries of government the number, age and details of unsettled claims for wrongful acts done foreigners. There is not a chancellery which would not exhaust every means of preventing such disclosures.

The whole situation is as stupid as much of vaunted diplomacy and methods of dealing with international problems. Any American railroad has its claim agent on the job to settle with an injured passenger or shipper. It does not require the claim to be passed on by a ranking corporate official, then solemnly discussed at Board of Directors' meetings, and then submitted to arbitration a generation later. Any man qualified to be ambassador or minister of his state in a foreign country ought be accorded the integrity and intelligence of a railroad claim agent and, it is respectfully submitted, that the ponderous assumed difficulties with which the League of Nations is considering those matters with all the formality of the Convocation of Nantes or a congress of churchmen, dealing with transubstantiation in the Eucharist, will be resolved, if each member nation will give to its ambassador or minister the same authority which a railroad corporation gives to a five thousand dollar a year claim agent.

As against this obviously simple and honest procedure, let us consider the long and practically futile effort which an American citizen must undertake in his effort to gain redress for an injury for which a foreign government is responsible.

He must first show to the satisfaction of the State Department that he has exhausted every means of redress available to him in the courts of the country where he was injured. The fact that this is almost certain to be futile and that in many cases, the injured person is without the financial means of going from bottom to top of a foreign judicial system, has no bearing on the question; it is the price of the first step for the pilgrim in search of international justice. If he can not pay the price, the majesty of international law has nevertheless been upheld; he is just unfortunate.

Having exhausted his remedies in the foreign tribunals, and very likely himself and his pocketbook, his pilgrimage has but begun. He must now move on Washington prepared to prove that what has happened to him was, in the words of Mr. Bayard, our Secretary of State in 1886, "in violation of those rules for the maintenance of justice in judicial inquiries which are sanctioned by international law" and, to use Mr. Conrad's words, as Acting Secretary of State in 1852, "a plain violation of the substance of natural justice."

So having educated himself and others as to what is sanctioned by international law, any injured citizen must now be prepared to demonstrate what natural justice is and is not. The fact that the greatest legal minds since the Code of Dungi have never agreed on what natural justice is does not mitigate this condition, as a *sine qua non* for redress under international law.

But the end is not yet: whatever the difficulties, however great the cost, our injured citizen must by his own efforts marshal all the evidence necessary to establish his case, without aid of his own government, however deeply the evidence may be hidden by the intrigues of the wrongdoing foreign government.

If by this time our injured citizen has not broken his heart or his purse, or both, his greatest obstacle still lies ahead. Though he be an ignorant fruit vendor, wrongly imprisoned on a visit to his parents in his native land or a school girl studying art in some foreign conservatory, he or she must now become sufficiently conversant with international affairs, treaties, diplomatic conversations, not to mention intrigues and secret agreements, to demonstrate what action on the claim "may be deemed appropriate and opportune, considering the foreign relations of the United States."

Proud, persistent and purseful our injured citizen has completed his task; his claim is deemed worthy to move his government to make to the wrongdoing foreign government "direct application for amends."

But then he is told that it is regretted that no commission exists for the arbitration of claims with the government in question, and it is diplomatically explained to this now thoroughly brokenhearted American citizen, that the determination of recompense for his injury must await an indefinite future time, perhaps in this generation, if not in the next, when the accumulation of other claims or some other circumstance results in an agreement between the two countries for the establishment of an arbitral commission.

International law as it affects the average citizen is today in the vast majority of cases, merely a form of "bullying" available only against insignificant nations and for those of sufficient political power or wealth, to compel action by their own governments. The safe rule for the average business man or manufacturer who ventures to trade upon foreign soil, and the idealistic student of another country's arts and sciences, or those whom circumstance compels to dwell on other than their native heath, is in a maxim, "Let the foreigner beware."

America might do something about it; unless the proponents of peace at any price have Chinafied our pioneer courage.

In the matter of armament, we are using old habits of thought, erroneously. If the people of any nation like to play soldiers, to absorb their unemployed by putting them in uniform, to amuse the populace (and amusement is extremely necessary in democracy) by military and naval pageantry, there is no harm in it, and the economic argument that it increases the burden of taxation, is a fallacy in a democratic regime, as is the argument that a large standing army makes a people war-like. This is the twentieth century and sixteenth century reasoning must be abandoned, and large armies and navies may have a very important economic and social utility under present conditions, not to fight enemies with, but to overcome the problems temporarily produced by mass production; not to make warriors out of boys, but healthy, disciplined men out of blase, impudent, simpering youths. The achievements of the Geneva disarmament conference during its first three weeks was two hundred and seventy-five thousand words of delegates' speeches, none of which made clear the practical distinction between training regiments of men and producing tons of armament or between the economic value for productive effort of trained men and the value for destruction only of artillery, battleships and shells. It is probably too juvenile to suggest, as heretofore, that if war was not profitable it would be less frequent; and that the destruction of war comes not from soldiers but from the hellish engines and weapons of destruction, which some people find it profitable to manufacture. As one observes the drift of disarmament programs, the cynical comment is provoked that those who sit in the seats of the mighty seem chiefly concerned about the modern weapons of war which, so to speak, make war personal for the directors of war. Dreadnoughts, Big Berthas, poison gas, air bombs, and the up-to-date improvements in the mass destruction of mankind, are apt "to kick back," and one can not be too sure that the council chamber or the cabinet room is out of range and that wars can be conducted as heretofore so that their carnage is limited to "cannon fodder" supplied by the masses. It may seem paradoxical but time will prove that the devilish inventions of the last war were the heaven-sent auxiliaries of peace. It is well enough to write out colored papers and despatch ultimatums from a massive desk in a luxurious room, provided that blue, white or what-colored papers and ultimatums can not possibly be answered by an air bomb through the ceiling or lethal gas let loose in the foyers. When war involves *all* the people of every warring nation, when rat holes are not even safe, and every ultimatum puts everybody in danger of their lives together with their families, goods and chattels, wars will cease to be popular with any class, from mobs to statesmen, from jingoists to patriots. In short, common sense will prevail and less drastic means will be found of settling international disputes, at least, between advanced nations. The sheer terror of war is spelling its finish. As elsewhere commented on in another connection, it has failed at its strongest point; its strength has been its weakness. One sees, after all, how that miserable formula settles all questions of human relations at the present stage of civilization: "What is there in it for me?" No, let us not disarm along those lines which make the dangers of war remote; we should come nearer to ending wars, if we limited armaments, by permitting only those which can penetrate to the capitals of the involved countries, and put in danger, instantly and constantly, every man, woman and child in the warring countries. This may seem cruel, but nothing less cruel will teach profiteers that war is not sure to be profitable, teach statesmen that war is not safe for them personally as an escape from their own bungling and diplomatic nonsense, and teach the yellow journalists and the stupid masses that they risk their own necks in their "patriotic" debauches and are apt to be hurt, if they get intoxicated on national ambitions and racial hatreds. In Biblical phrase, the Creator works in a mysterious way His wonders to perform: He did not attempt to outlaw war any more than He did other human vices; mankind was just left to find out for itself what there was in it for him. Most of us have found out that it pays to live at peace with one's neighbors and rarely involves any loss of self-respect; most of us realize that the wages of sin is death; some day all of us will perceive that war is not only wrong but personally dangerous and does not pay, just as we shall learn that justice in one's relations with each other does pay.

On sharp analysis, we shall probably find, too, that natural theories of wages are unsound under the changed conditions of our day; that in fact wages have no relation to the capital they produce, are merely a form of credit, expressed in spending power, and that the highest possible wage should be paid for the shortest possible period of labor.

Shocking as it may seem to the sacrosanct doctrine of thrift, in the sense of, waste not, want not, it is highly probable that we live in a time when we must encourage nationally the least harmful and most beneficial forms of waste to offset machine production, and to substitute for the waste heretofore produced by wars, which probably were necessary under the then existing system, to stimulate destruction, to make way for replacement, thereby employment, hence wages, hence spending power, hence prosperity.

Startling as it would have been to our grandparents, even to our parents, we shall, perchance, find that money is a fiction and credit the only reality in commerce; that free trade is the only sensible course for all countries, and that what the world needs is not "a good five-cent cigar" but to develop a taste for ten cent cigars—in short that we must meet mass production by a modicum of waste and a general distribution of luxuries. Perhaps we shall find national antipathies to buying on the installment plan were as stupid as our ancestors' idea that night air was dangerous and bedrooms should be hermetically sealed. Perhaps, we shall find that we were all wrong when we criticized the man who mortgaged his house to buy an automobile and that he was right in making life more livable for his family and himself, and really "playing cricket" in maintaining general prosperity. Take two very simple things: an orange and an apple—now in

America we have learned that orange juice is vital, even to babies, and, after a manner of speaking, "an apple a day keeps the doctor away." But try to find an apple or an orange among our enlightened neighbors on the Continent; occasionally you will find a dish of unappealing fruit, spotted and more or less rotted, looking like a tray of antique jewelry, which one hesitates to disturb, and if one does, it disconcerts the service, while to ask for orange juice for breakfast, is unheard of, except, of course, in the de luxe international hostelries. Now God knows man can grow all the oranges and apples he can eat; and if he can not grow them in one part of the world they thrive in other parts; there are more ships in the world than now find ballast, much less cargo, but until some commission of the League of Nations has spent five years compiling statistics, it is utterly inept to suggest anything so simple as that apples and oranges be put on the free lists of all nations, that little children might be healthier thereby the world over, and that the insignificant apple and orange might do more in a hurry to revive world trade than discussions of the gold standard. No, apples and oranges and wheat and potatoes, must rot in one part of the world, while millions of humans starve or are undernourished in another, because we cannot break the shackles of thought enslaved by centuries of submission to selfish exploitation and ignorant devotion to myopic theories. We still believe things can't be true unless they are complicated. God Almighty knows better.

You come infinitely nearer the truth of things in the old woman driving her geese across a stubble field and the peasant ferrying his ox team by hand across a stream in Flanders, than ever was attained at Sans Souci between Voltaire and Frederick the Great, or was preached from the pulpit of Maria Theresa's cathedral in Prague.

CHAPTER III

THE JOB AND JUSTICE

Work is man's only certain and dependable means of growth. It is the only prevention of decay in the animal kingdom. A good steel ax is a better ax by carefully directed work. One likes to think of that great tree in Markham's splendid poem at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, as having worked to become the biggest, finest, strongest and most useful tree on the mountainside; useful in life for beauty, shade and protection, useful in death for warmth and comfort by many firesides.

Work in its true sense is not that thing referred to in the familiar roundelay:

Through cold and heat we all must work
  So we can earn our bread and meat,
Just bread and meat to keep us strong
  So we can work through cold and heat.

Work is rather that spiritual thing of which we catch a flash in Kipling's lines:

And only the Master shall praise us, and only the
    Master shall blame;
And no one shall work for money, and no one
    shall work for fame
But each for the joy of the working, and each in
    his separate star
Shall draw the thing as he sees it for the God
    of things as they are.

It is just as important, if mankind in general is to find the true and substantial happiness for which God's Eternal Plan has now made the world ready, that he shall have a sound view of work as that he shall have a true attitude toward religion, country, the home and himself.

Every real and wise woman knows that a man is just the little boy grown up. Women generally are at any age more mature than men, and for this there is sound historical reason: the female was maturing in the cave or hut, when the male was hunting and really having fun. Men's attitude toward work is amazingly boyish. A great industrialist, at the moment the wealthiest and most powerful individual in the world, when asked why he worked so hard, answered naïvely that he did not know, he guessed it was for his family. He may have thought so; it was not so; if the entire family had been wiped out in a holocaust, he would still have worked just as hard; to express it very simply, he worked for the thrill of it, in slang, for the "kick" he got out of it, because he lived in a time when the *summum bonum* of life had been perverted into just the getting of a kick out of it. We are very close to the riddle of life in the question why men work. It can be argued with a good deal of force and some historical evidence, beginning with the irritation of the first amoeba which subdivided and began life and the differentiation of species, that existence is merely the response to a desire for sensation or a sensation; whether it be the supposedly noble sensation of a hair shirt on a shackled ascetic in his cell, the sensation of virtue of the virtuous old maid, the thrill of the gunman "hopped up" with "coke," or the craving for power of the magnate of industry. One thing is certain, that if this is the answer to the riddle of the universe, it is not worth bothering about. Such is not the answer, it is a mere stupidity of viewpoint, a perversion of the senses.

There is a totally absurd general impression that successful men work only for fortunes. No such man ever lived, except demented minds such as misers or insanely cruel men such as certain rulers and despots. Subconsciously, inarticulately, most men work for a cause, and it would surprise some of our friends who believe in the orthodox heaven, to find a good many of the "wicked" of the earth among the sheep and not among the goats in their expected day of Revelation. "There is so much bad in the best of us and so much good in the worst of us, that it hardly behooves any of us to talk about the rest of us."

If we accord reasonable intelligence to these maligned, successful men, it is obvious that when a man's assured income passes any possible need or desired luxury of himself and all who are near or dear to him, he must be working for something more than the accumulation of money, which becomes utterly worthless at a certain point, a burden and not a benefit. Similarly, if we accord them reasonable intelligence, without which they could hardly have been successful, it must be also apparent that they cannot really believe that out of success they can firmly build any significant power. The only individually powerful men of history have been men who controlled armed forces, religious thought, or public opinion. A group of capitalists may influence the monetary course of human events, but divided authority and control cannot satisfy an individual yearning for power. Wolfe remarked after the Battle of

Quebec on reading for the first time Gray's great poem, that he would rather have written "The Elegy in a Country Churchyard" than to have captured Quebec. He was right, for thousands who know and have responded, soul and mind, to the "youth to fortune and to fame unknown," there is not one who knows that Wolfe lived, much less, that his name was spelled with an "e". Pope, Burns, Shelley, Keats, live for the human race; who were the kings, generals, capitalists, who were their contemporaries? The fame of that ruthless Czar who put out the eyes of the architect of the Kremlin lives only in history as the perpetrator of this atrocious crime. In God's Eternal Plan there are unvarying values, as accurate and unavoidable as the jeweler's scale.

No, sane and intelligent men do not work for mere fortunes. Underneath the tyrant is the soul of a patriot; behind the capitalist is the dream of a world reconstructed according to his ideas; back of even the demagogue and cheap politician is an idea that he can run things better than they are being managed. The normally healthy in body and mind human being is not wicked; the percentage of deviltry in the human race is certainly no higher than among brutes; the vicious dog, the ugly horse, even the man-eating lion, is the exception among his kind, as natural history shows. Environment, surroundings, economic necessity, oppression, cruelty, starvation, deceit, hypocrisy and sycophancy will ruin, and do ruin the true nature of man and beast; to avoid that we must regulate life in consistency with the Eternal Plan of the Almighty.

What, then, do men and women work for: some goal or ambition. Now if that goal or ambition be right, their lives will be right, and happy, if all the goals of all men and women were right. We must then find a way of fixing the right goal or mark for the individual man or woman, and see to it that others cannot by their acts cause that man or woman to miss his mark, *amartian.* Nature does this for the brute by instilling an instinct not to attack, except when hungry or in danger. Probably there is nothing more peaceful than a tribe of lions in their warm and drowsy natural habitat, as long as food, water and shade are sufficient and no other animal or human intrudes upon them. In the course of civilization and the bitter contest with superior physical forces, mankind has lost its native decency. War has become its portion, brought down to us in the form of competition. But God gave man a finer thing to take the place of instinct and that is reason; and it is through reason we have the open door, to find for the individual man a true and noble goal, and to create in the mass conditions not only wherein each can know where his true and substantial happiness lies but have, as well, the untrammelled opportunity to reach his goal.

The simple fact is that the average man and woman does not know what he or she is working for; and life becomes dull, a mere matter of existence, and happiness gained only through excitement. Perhaps "kick", that current slang, means something that kicks one out of the realization of how miserable he thinks himself to be. Most of the vicious and devastating practices of life, over-indulgence in reckless sex relations, liquor, the use of drugs, gambling and the like, are the inevitable result of the philosophy of Pope,

"Quaff, oh quaff, the kind Nepenthe."

Certainly there is something tragically wrong with life, when the only way to live it is by finding some way to forget it. Yet such, due to the failure of religion to grip men and the results of horrible economic injustices of centuries, is the attitude of at least ninety per cent of the human race today. If that is a sound attitude, we should, like the pigs in the parable, possessed of the devil, jump off the cliff of suffering into the sea of nothingness.

The average man, as far as he has formulated any motive in life, seeks either to outstep his fellows or to raise and provide for a family, or both. Each has its roots in pure egotism in the vast majority of cases. Few men have a calling; they drift by accident into any vocation or choose one where they figure they have the best chance of succeeding, that is getting ahead of the other fellow. Few men found families, they find themselves with families as the result of having satisfied an emotional or physical desire; they marry their wives as they enter business, by accident or because a particular woman seems to supply more of the things they want or think they need, than any other woman. What percentage of college graduates ask themselves in what vocation can I accomplish the most for the world, in view of my particular nature, abilities and education? How many "lovers" ask themselves, can this woman and I together live a nobler and more worth while life than alone, or with anyone else? Asking themselves these questions would not be foolish idealism, it would be common sense, but it will be years after that they realize it, when, alas, it is usually too late. A man is either predominantly a hunting dog or a lap dog. His nature seeks either the competition of the hunt, or the comfort of the sofa pillow. Women ought to realize this; if men don't. Likewise, men are of two kinds; ancestors or descendants. They live on the vigor and achievements of a grandfather or, like Lincoln, they have more pride and interest in what their descendants' ancestor accomplishes. Nature must be taken as it comes; no religion, philosophy, economic system or organization of society can in a single lifetime make a wolfhound out of a pug dog; nor can it make an oak out of ivy roots. But what can be done is to give men a clear, pure, wholesome goal according to their natural qualities and abilities.

The same is true of women; there are only two kinds, silly women and real women. By silly is meant its true meaning as Shakespeare used it. They are not capable of a higher objective than of trying to make themselves pretty and pleasing to men. Now if they stop there, stay moral and are content to be decorations of life, not home wreckers, vampires, parasites and demi-mondes, they fill a useful function. It is not requisite to grow rye or wheat on every vacant field; Holland's tulip fields serve a useful purpose in life and just to symbolize beauty, grace and manners is a worth while goal for women who are not intellectually or spiritually capable of more. The job of a real woman is, of course, infinitely higher; the highest of all human attainments. She is the progenitor, the mother of all future generations, and the high priestess of the boyish, less developed soul of her masculine mate. Few women are capable of that pedestal; some who are, shrink from it in a beautiful but unfortunate modesty.

Obviously there is no true place for women in business or industry as such, any more than there is in hunting or war, and a decently ordered society will take women out of business, as such, not by prohibition or discrimination, but by creating conditions, where their participation in money making is not necessary, and their natural desires are free to develop naturally in their natural field. Women are going to be the most important influence in the world, when that approaching day is reached, wherein man does not have to labor all his waking hours; when modern production methods put machines to work where hands are used, and there are every day hours for leisure and culture. No expression is commoner than the reference to so-called street women as the ladies of leisure. How stupendous is the task and responsibility of womanhood, as war disappears, the hunt ceases to exist, and a few hours' labor supplies sustenance; it is they who will turn to good or ill the free hours given by the consummation of God's Eternal Plan. They must not prove mere ladies of leisure, but the guides and guardians of men's less spiritual beings into the fields of music, art and true education.

What, then, should be man's formula or guide for his life work; so to use his natural talents as to drive them to their maximum accomplishment, consistent with and not encroaching on the rights of others in so doing; and to seek and get, in comfort, security, wealth and luxury, the just rewards of his abilities and industry. So that none may say, this is a mere formula of words, let us illustrate by the commonplace; if a man be endowed with a genius or peculiar aptness for harmony he will convert it into symphonies or wield it through the baton of a great orchestra; he will not pervert it into "crooning" and a jazz band, and stimulate the vicious sex impulse of life by intoxicating foolish girls into yielding their virtue. If a man be endowed with a skillful use of the pen, he will not become a counterfeiter, though he find no more significant use for his ability than to write the Bible on the smallest compass or engrave the Magna Carta on a postage stamp. If a man have the acquisitive instinct, where what he touches turns to golden tribute, he will touch only that which produces for mankind the fulfillment of some need. If he have that intuitive instinct for the jugular vein, as was said of Rufus Choate, he will not use it in defense of public enemies. If he have an extraordinary skill with the scalpel, he will not use it on Park Avenue operations for "appendicitis" on mere girls, who learn thereby "that a slice from a cut loaf makes no difference." If he be a great engineer, he will build machinery and public improvements, not devote himself to patent monopolies, for which the rest of mankind must pay tribute.

But none of these things will he be expected to do, without certainty and receipt of their legitimate rewards in reputation, fame, public recognition and monetary emoluments. Herein is the stupendous folly of socialism and sovietism and all the other "isms", which assume that man has reached that sublime state of nature, wherein he has no desire for recognition of his achievements in the coin of the realm. The day will come when the majority of men will feel that "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches"; it is more than a single generation distant, and we must take men as they are. There was once a college class in which the best student was a cheat and known to be such by his classmates; he graduated as valedictorian, the class was notorious as the lowest in scholarship in a college generation. Men must have their rewards and any system of society which fails to recognize this must fail, until all men become philosophers, in that distant day, after all men have become intelligent and just.

On the nineteen hundred and thirty-first Christmas, official statistics of the International Labor office at Geneva showed that there were one hundred million people in need and twenty-five million unemployed, of whom there were eight and a half million in the United States with six millions more employed only from one to three days a week; that is nearly one-third of our working population, wholly or partly jobless.

As of January 1, 1932, the public statements of many national banks and insurance companies were "doctored" with governmental approval, so as not to show their real financial condition. One hundred billions in capital values had disappeared in America in twenty-five months, of which from eighteen to twenty billions had been directly lost by wage and salary workers. The government of the United States faced a deficit of nearly two billion dollars in its budget, and every state and political subdivision in the Union was, as well, seeking new sources of taxation. Charity had raised eighteen millions in New York City, nine millions in Philadelphia, and other communities proportionate amounts, to avoid a dole for the workless, while England and Germany had ten millions on a dole. One important government had declared a moratorium on its obligations, and interest was in default on over two billions of dollars on the bonds of first rate governments; every nation, but one, involved had defaulted actually, if not theoretically, in its obligations created by the war. Innumerable sick were turned away from hospitals, which could not maintain themselves financially. The gold standard had been abandoned by most of the important nations of the world, the so-called Young Plan had collapsed and international trade had reached the vanishing point.

Now this had occurred under a capitalistic system, unhampered, unimpeded, and in sole domination of every country of the world, except Russia; after an unbroken control of the affairs of mankind, in its predecessive forms, for at least one thousand, if not four thousand years. The undivided single responsibility for the world's collapse lay with this capitalistic system. Either it had mismanaged human affairs selfishly and deliberately; or the affairs of the world had become too involved to be managed under a capitalistic system.

In proof of the undivided responsibility, events in the United States stand as indisputable evidence.

During the year 1929, our country had reached the highest peak of national wealth and prosperity known in the history of man. For this the political, professional, and financial advocates of capitalism claimed full credit for that system. They gave to their fellow countrymen, from the highest authorities, assurance that this national wealth was permanent, that the continuity of prosperity was insured, and the believing world stood in admiration of the achievement and the promise in the national election that at least one candidate would now direct the country's thought to the higher plane of finding the most useful expression for the increasing leisure, produced by this era of prosperity, guaranteed against financial panics and industrial depression. The leisure proved to be that of eight million unemployed.

It is clear that either these leaders were incompetent or the system they represented inadequate.

The collapse came: every promise, every doctrine, every guaranty proved false.

When a railroad engineer wrecks his train, he is discharged, and frequently imprisoned, if it appears that he knowingly ran past danger signals; he properly escapes condemnation if he is able to show that the locomotive was defective, the wheels of bad material or that the track spread.

When the commander of an ocean liner runs his ship on the rocks, he loses his rank, unless it is shown that the condition of the ship or its gears was responsible for the disaster; and with one great navigating company, even this does not save his rank.

In any mass calamity in human affairs, there can be but one of three explanations: the act of God, human wrong or negligence, or defective machinery.

We must so view the calamity of 100,000,000 needy and starving in a world of plenty.

But we must view it fairly without hatred or prejudgment.

Either the leaders of human affairs for the past ten centuries have been good men using a bad machine, or bad men running a good machine, or both men and machines have been bad.

We know, however, that many, in fact the great majority of the leaders of human affairs have not been bad men; we must, therefore, conclude, that the machinery of capitalism has been somehow wrong or defective.

The essential parts of the capitalistic machinery are and always have been these: (1) the right of individuals to monopolize natural resources, whether it be land, coal, iron, other minerals, oil, or water power, (2) the right of certain individuals to exploit as many others as possible, through the device of aggregated capital and corporate privileges and monopolies; (3) the right of each generation of capitalists to increase its control and dominance by building upon the accumulated capital of its predecessors.

Whatever we may hear and read of changing social conditions and economic ideas, the three foregoing concepts have always, unchangeably and irrevocably been the prime and unquestioned basic principles of capitalism.

Nowhere have they been more efficiently and strikingly carried out and accomplished than in the United States of America. In the Standard Oil Company, we have the maximum attainment in the monopoly of natural resources; in the United States Steel Corporation, the most successful accomplishment in the exploitation of human individuals by the use of aggregated capital, corporate privileges, and monopolistic achievement; in the great fortunes of America such as that of Harry Payne Whitney, an example of the unlimited growth and power of inherited wealth.

It is, thus, that our own country at once is the highest example of capitalistic achievement and collapse.

Here is additional evidence that the system must be wrong, for it went to pieces in the hands and management of those who were its greatest masters.

It would seem that in the events leading up to that collapse, we should find wherein the weakness of capitalism lay. Conceding that the Great War was one of the causes, what did it reveal? This, that the capitalistic system, in its indisputable political control of the great nations of the world, could not control nationalistic aggressions: in short, that nations dominated by capitalism must necessarily follow the capitalistic thought, and be, as nations, ruthlessly competitive; hence, the war was the result of capitalism, and the terrific clash of its superheated nationalistic ambitions, inevitably engendered by capitalism, could not do other than destroy capitalism; in short, capitalism proved, as do most humans and human systems, to be weakest at its strongest point.

In the problems following the war, wherein did capitalism fail: in this, that it was unable to control the cupidity of its followers. This revealed itself, first, in the monstrous methods and results of dealing with the costs of the Great War, through the so-called settlement, distribution, and collection of reparations, indemnities, and war debts. It next revealed itself in the misguided temporary overproduction of the capitalistic system in the individual and corporate effort of its followers to recoup in the shortest possible time from the losses or lost profits occasioned by the war. It next revealed itself in the utterly mad effort of its individual and corporate followers to reimburse themselves for time and effort necessarily lost in patriotic services and suspension of normal commercial and financial activities, by reckless speculation in securities on the stock and commodity exchanges. It next showed itself in the intensity of desire to gain new wealth by the innovation of an installment credit system which while augmenting sales and profits pledged future years of earning power and thereby indirectly produced a dangerous credit inflation for which we were not prepared. Finally, the most tragic, if not most vital weakness of capitalism revealed itself, in what clearly was an inevitable part of the system: the complete selfishness of its individual and corporate followers and their complete disloyalty to anyone, or anything but themselves. Human kind brought up in the gospel of competition, expressed in the old line "let the devil take the hindmost", must as inevitably believe that self-preservation is the first law of life, as that they should believe in the profit motive of life. And so capitalism was destroyed from within; it had lived by the sword, it died by the sword, and not the least of its stab wounds come from its own members, who losing faith in their own system and with a disloyalty as stupid as it was shocking, not alone hung their country to the cross of disaster, but completed the annihilation of the system which had made them rich and powerful. Capitalism sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. Its doctrines proved false, its followers traitors, its discipline a pathetic farce.

It is not to be expected that the intelligent and sincere leaders of the capitalist system throughout the world can bring themselves to the conviction, that a system which has been their religion and the religion of their fathers, and their fathers' fathers for a thousand years, has failed; that it has become a part of the history of mankind, which has "for its skeleton, tragedy and despair."

Nor is it fair that against such leaders of a system which achieved much, the world, which has taken the benefits of its great accomplishments, should turn its hatred or even point the finger of scorn.

Nor is it fair that capitalism shall not have a chance to redeem itself; it has a great record of achievement, however cruel and unjust its methods.

Its leaders are making great efforts. What if they do smack of a death-bed repentance? Perhaps they will succeed, for whatever its shortcomings, capitalism has seldom failed of ingenuity and has occasionally shown the ability "to stoop to conquer". It is not totally impossible that the genius of capitalism will find a way to reestablish its dynasty. It works now under most favorable circumstances. The world is destitute, its masses are flat-bellied. Flat-bellies have a tendency to make masses be *for* whatever will fill their bellies and not, when hungry, to concern themselves with what is best for future generations. If the bellies get too flat, they turn to violence; if not too flat, they submit to those who feed them. Capitalism is prepared to feed their flat-bellies and long since learned not to let them get too flat. Now flat-bellies weaken morale and it is a long time before starved and hopeless masses revive sufficiently to think of their own welfare beyond food, jobs, and family. So capitalism may save itself by the sheer exhaustion of the victims of its own errors.

Again, capitalism is greatly helped by its enemies: no system has ever been proposed which better conformed to the average individual and normal desires and nature of man; and no other political doctrine has ever had a fractional part of the success of capitalism in making so many people reasonably contented, if not happy. Moreover, it has an advantage of immeasurable importance in the fact, that out of the welter of recent years not a single leader or a system has arisen which has gained any respectable following, except one whose apparent spread is directly and solely attributable to a peculiar national condition and particular racial traits, and has no significance or validity for mankind in general.

While it is, of course, apparent to the most superficial observer, that the cost of the world depression, however great it may be reckoned in dollars, is immeasurable in its spiritual cost: the human race has been set back twenty centuries, and here is a cost that capitalism can never repay, whatever amends it may seek to make in straightening out the reparations blunders, in sanely organizing production, in sensibly and unselfishly dealing with tariffs, in curtailing vicious financial and corporate practices, in punishing criminals who have stolen or wasted the fortunes of a trusting public, in disciplining traitors who have sold their country "short" and destroyed business courage, and in halting political corruption and curtailing armament.

We assume much, in even supposing that these things will be remedied and that capitalism will rectify itself; it never has; and if today, as is the fact, its leadership is more advanced, intelligent, and less cruel, it is also true that never in the history of capitalism has leadership been so weak and its efforts so pathetically futile.

Yet capitalism is entitled to a chance to rectify itself: a sense of fair play makes us feel that. We must give it that chance, not hoping for much and expecting less, for the future must be judged by the past.

In giving capitalism its opportunity, its *locus poenitentiae,* as the law calls it, we shall not lose, but gain two things; before a better ordered world or new system of directing the affairs of men is attempted, the world must first be brought back to something like equilibrium ere new ideas are attempted; second, it will give us all a chance to think things through and see things straight, before we take upon ourselves the tremendous responsibility of staking the future of humanity on a new and untried system.

It is one of the recurrent stupidities of the human kind, whether in shipwreck, political oppression, or industrial depression, to rush into action, when they ought to keep still, be quiet and trust their leaders, *volle nolle,* because there is nothing better to do. Yet rarely does humanity act that way: in panic on shipboard passengers are very apt to damn the officers and try to look out for themselves; driven mad by political oppression, when sane considered action is impossible, they start revolutions; starved into recklessness by industrial depression, when intelligent changes through mass action are impossible, they follow half-baked agitators into strange economic and social experiments.

Whether they will or not, the great majorities of people all over the world must stand by and give the capitalistic system a chance to justify itself and prove its competency and sincerity. Any man or woman who is willing today to try to force into action a new political or economic system lacks sense, decency, and is devoid of judgment. The world must get better, before it can hope to get well.

There is a sane Five Year Plan for human kind, and it is this: Steady the ship as quickly as possible and when it is steadied take our bearings by the sun of truth. Carefully and cautiously make accurate calculations, in the light of history and human experience, reckon the cost and advantages of capitalism, consider with clean minds, unprejudiced thought, and God-guided conscience such new program or systems as may be advanced for the present and future of mankind, and when our minds and souls tell us we have found a better way, then to follow it by an appeal to reason, not force, by established legislative and governmental means, not by revolution, and depend upon the inherent truth and rightness, and fairness and justice of our convictions, and not upon demagogic journalism, political movements or emotional nonsense, which do not square with the facts of history or the inherent nature of man.

The period of twenty years is legally accepted as measuring a generation. If we view the generation, so measured, ending in the collapse of today, it must be viewed, industrially, financially, and politically in America, as twenty years of hypocrisy. It brought us false economic values, paralogistic leadership, oblique and sinister politics, social and religious decay, counterfeit patriotism, and mock idealism. Its crowning hypocrisy was in its alleged humanism. If a bill of particulars is desired, here it is: Capitalism claimed the mandate to direct civilization by stealing from science its accomplishments and proceeded upon the theory, openly stated, that the rights and interests of the masses were best protected and cared for "by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country". Leaders arose who talked of the "new freedom" while shackling the great majority more closely than ever to the chariot wheels of their masters, by teaching them that they need take no thought for the future; it was guaranteed proof against wars and depressions. Standards of social virtues were laughed into derision by those who smeared themselves with cosmetic learning and reduced music to jazz, love to sexual excess, and purpose in life to an hysterical hunt for sensation. Politics reduced to the simple matter of "what is there in it for me" and the cruder forms of public bribery were refined into social elevation at the expense of the public service; political campaigns were conducted and won nationally by both major political parties by the grossest kind of false representation. Religion, in its accepted organizations, sank to the menial slavery of the despicable Greek fig-bearer and the most stupid and selfish form of nationalistic envy and ambition was conducted behind the screen of alleged internationalism and insincere protestations of world peace. It cost thirty million dead and wounded, now a hundred million destitute, and countless billions of wealth, built up out of the bone and sinew of the patient masses. Not: what price glory, what price lying to God Almighty? To this the answer can not be more lies: and the present attitude of the controlling powers of the world today, is more false, more hypocritical, more subtly dangerous and deceptive, than the sum total of the lies with which the heart of civilization was poisoned in the generation referred to.

We shall not here refer to the conditions of international affairs which have sunk in intrigue, method, and motive to the plane of fifty, not twenty, years ago. In every nation, there is a ruling class. We refer to the attitude of the ruling classes of the world and to our own country in particular. Capitalism is today in the position, expressed by one of its clever spokesmen—"to hell with the cheese, let me out of the trap." The way out of the trap, after careful scheming, is found in such devices as so-called private philanthropy, and so-called state benevolence in old age and unemployment insurance. The fundamental belief and doctrine of the ruling class in every country, not admitted but whispered surreptitiously from corners of over-stuffed upholstery; flat bellies bring submission, depressions reduce wages, reduced wages lower standards of living, and broken spirits shatter the hopes and ambitions of the masses to rise above their accustomed place. The fundamental philosophy still is "that some are born into the world booted and spurred and others saddled and bridled, and ready to be ridden." Not in twenty years, and longer, have the chances of the great majority to rise been so remote and flimsy as at the present moment. If the will of the minority prevails, that is, the intent of the ruling classes, the great majority will know that the meaning of this world-wide depression, was the depression of having one's face ground in the mud by the heels of those who are born into the world, booted and spurred.

No one knows better their fallacy and falsity than those who presently tolerate, and without whose support neither can come, the false ideas of unemployment insurance and old age insurance. Did God Almighty populate this earth with able-bodied men and women who could live and eat, only if their fellowmen decided to underwrite their livelihood? Did God Almighty cause human beings to grow aged in order to become a blight on the earth and a subject of charity and socialistic legislation?

Certainly, if human beings are to work out their existence at a living wage with periodical lapses of unemployment, these blow-out patches, which capitalism is willing to talk about, are, of course, necessary.

Take the ordinary case: a train motorman marries; his pay is, we will say, thirty dollars a week; his rent is forty dollars a month; sustenance costs a dollar a day per person; disregarding sickness, clothes and reasonable amusement, what becomes of his daughter, if he is able to get her through public school and a year or two of high school? She goes to work as a shop girl at $12.00 a week or a stenographer at $15.00; at sixty her average earnings have been $25 to $30 per week for her business life. At what moment in the history of her or her family was there a chance to accumulate a surplus or insure the future, even if she and they enjoyed abnormally good health, were never unemployed and encountered none of the money-losing, money-costing accidents or vicissitudes of life? Of course, we must have old-age insurance and unemployment insurance, if this is economic justice. Give that girl a job certainty and $5.00 more a week and she needs neither unemployment nor old-age insurance. Is it not clear that for the selfish merchant or industrialist, on the known basis of actuarial mathematics, that it is cheaper to provide unemployment insurance and old-age insurance, than it is to pay a marginal wage during unemployment? They have a good bet with death, which will by the very process of undernourishment, nervous break-down, and subnormal existence, remove a great many from the benefits of old-age and unemployment insurance. Death employs them and sees to it that not too many get old. If *marginal wage* is a new term, let it be understood as a living wage plus an additional amount reasonably invested on a sinking fund basis to yield an income during unemployment or old age sufficient at least to keep the employee from becoming a public charge or one of the "hundred neediest cases". Advance, you trained and hired economists, and under orders of your employers, prove that a marginal wage can not be economically paid, and you have proved what; just this, that your whole economic system is false and unsound. And a bank clerk will answer you—he does get enough to pay out of his salary to a commercial insurance company $55.00 a year and is insured for Twenty-five dollars a week, if and as long as he is sick or disabled; and enough more out of his wages to pay $130.00 a year on an endowment policy so that at sixty he will have an income of $1200 a year or a substantial principal. So the economics of old-age and employment insurance reduce to this: sickness, disability and old age can be provided for without socialism or governmental paternalism, by a marginal wage of $15.00 a month in excess of a living wage, and, as to unemployment, the answer is this: the present ruling class, committed to capitalism, either can not or will not provide certain and continuous employment for those able and willing to work. As recently as four years ago a president was elected on the faith of the unequivocal promise that it could. Now the pledge is proved false. Upon either horn of the dilemma, capitalism is impaled; if its leaders knew they could not, and represented that they could, they are knaves; if they thought they could, and find that they can not, they are fools. Upon either fools or knaves, and their economic system, the future of civilization can no longer be left dependent.

If more need be said on the subject of old-age and unemployment insurance, let it be said by others:

Leroy A. Lincoln, vice president and general counsel of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, today declared that not insurance, but cooperative self-help such as is provided under the "Rochester Plan" was the best method yet devised for relieving the evil effects of unemployment.

"Unemployment is not insurable," said Mr. Lincoln. "In this respect, it is unlike death, accident, old age and other ills. I am opposed to government insurance against unemployment, and also to private insurance against it. I should not consent to undertake it in any way, except in a very limited field and on an experimental basis."

Mr. Lincoln was head of a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States which opposed a proposal to have the government insure its citizens against unemployment. He defended himself, in conversation today, against suggestions that his opposition was prompted by a desire to obtain that business for his company.

"Our company has been studying unemployment insurance for more than a dozen years," he said. "The more we have learned about it, the less we favor it. And especially, we consider government insurance a mistake and almost sure to become a political football. It is too easy for a politician to get votes by promising to increase the insurance benefits.

"Bills authorizing private companies to write unemployment insurance on a group basis were introduced in the New York Legislature in 1919, 1924 and 1931.

"We strongly supported the first two bills.

> By the time of the third bill, we were completely indifferent. The bill last year finally passed and was vetoed by the Governor. We did not fight it, neither did we utter a word of approval."
>
> The Metropolitan company sent abroad last year a committee to study social insurance plans. It consisted of the late Dr. Lee K. Frankel, James D. Craig, actuary of the company, and Roderick Olzendam, formerly of the League of Nations' international labor office. They reported unfavorably upon unemployment insurance as practiced abroad.
>
> "We did this not to get ammunition with which to fight State insurance here," said Mr. Lincoln. "It was an honestly disinterested effort to throw light on a problem which needs solution. We think we ought to be competent to give insurance advice. When the Workman's Compensation Act was pending we advised our policyholders to vote for it. Now, on our information, we are advising the country not to adopt unemployment insurance."

One further thing is to be said in fairness to the great and good men and women living and dead, who have been *true* philanthropists. They did what they could to rectify the results of economic injustice, which they took for granted, never probed and, therefore, never understood. But true philanthropists have given more than money: they have given of themselves in their plans of giving. They shared themselves. But, of those who are hailed as philanthropists who schemed their benevolences, to allay the possible insurgencies of the masses and to prolong the system by which they waxed fat, we shall say, as of the dead, *nil nisi bonum,* but of the living, they are of the tribe of Gracchi, and all the false leaders of humanity, who have saved themselves by the cry of "Bread and the Circus".

Of those who, inspired by sympathy for their fellow men, have sincerely advocated such measures as unemployment and old-age insurance, in the field of political action, it must be said they have gone off half-baked. In governmental function nothing is so disastrous as discretionary bureaucracy. Public officials can administer a public trust, even if that is not always honestly done; they can not conduct an insurance business or any other intricate commercial undertaking. This has been repeatedly demonstrated. Not in the memory of living men has there been an imputation against the Treasury of the United States and few in other lands involving their treasuries; but in every instance, railroads, alien property, the pension bureau, workmen's insurance funds, and numerous other abortive governmental activities, we find there is always more or less of inefficiency, waste and frequently scandal. To augment the duties of government, by adding the difficult tasks of administering old-age and unemployment funds is to increase the evils of bureaucracy, and violative of basic principles of political economy; which are these, first: no duty or task should be put upon government which can reasonably be otherwise dealt with or handled; second, government functions should not be increased to the point where it is impossible to have the service of the competent; of these there are but few, and where officialdom is so numerous such public service loses distinction.

Capitalism can not save itself by imposing on government the impossible task of alleviating mass hardships which are intrinsic and inevitable in its system. Let us not go bureau-crazy.

There is high probability that, given time, some appearance of economic stability and commercial and industrial recovery will appear out of the present "bankers' bankrupt world", as it has been called. If plans do not miscarry, a surreptitious inflation will be tried to readjust values and simulate prosperity and the stock market used to create an artificial confidence as it did an actual panic, much as a smart ship captain will comfort his passengers by telling them the barometer is rising.

One who has been obliged to witness numerous accidents and casualties, is often amazed how vital is the human frame, as some poor human creature is carried as a mass of broken bones and bleeding flesh into the hospital and leaves not many weeks later able, at least, to walk and breathe without artificial respiration. Human society shows the same resilience and its broken bones will mend, and the unholiest thing an individual can venture at the moment, is to assert that it is better not to let those bones mend until they are properly set, in order to avoid the painful and dangerous process of having to break them again, because they are not set right.

Unpopular it may be, but true nevertheless it is, that the present economic frame of the world can not be mended and what is more, should not be permanently mended, because a far better and stronger job can be done by building it over.

In every other phase of life, it is true that "by their fruits ye shall know them," that one does not get sweet and bitter water from the same spring, and, to be very simple, that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." We must so view the record of organized capitalism, which in one form or another has dominated and controlled the world for a thousand years, which seems a fair period of trial for any economic or political system or theory. Until the present day, the conclusion has not been irrefragable that capitalism was incompetent and unworthy of trust as a scheme of human relations. Industrial depressions, commercial disasters and financial calamities have fallen at frequent intervals of the last thousand years on various nations and peoples under sway of its mandates. It has usually been possible in such instances, to argue a possible excuse or reason therefor, from some physical condition, such as drought, plague, or earthquake, from the destruction brought by war or revolt or even religious disturbance. There are those who will argue that these recurring periods of capitalism's desolation are always due to psychological causes or emotional mass hysteria: in short that it is the nature of the human race in sections to go mad at uncertain intervals, at least to have epileptic fits. In the cleverness and vanity of their plausible arguments, the defenders of the capitalistic system, sink themselves in a most dangerous quicksand. If droughts, plagues, earthquakes, wars, religious disturbances and epileptic lapses are in the nature of the human race, then any ruling system, to deserve confidence and continuance, must be prepared for them. It can not man the ship of human destiny with the reservation that we can navigate it as long as we encounter no hurricanes, typhoons or calms, no rough seas or heavy waters.

Thus, we find a rather simple situation concerning the record of capitalism: either it recurrently produces world chaos, as at present, or it repeatedly fails to prevent or guard against inevitable experiences of the human race. That is very clear as to the dramatic and disastrous events of 1929 in our own country; either the banking control, the responsible authorities of the financial, industrial and commercial world knew the blow was coming and were culpably indifferent and recklessly negligent in not being prepared or preparing the country for it; or they did not know it, and were demonstrably ignorant, incompetent and unfit—*unless,* and this is the only plea of substance in their behalf, the capitalistic system provides neither the means nor methods of preventing periodic disasters to the human race. Captain and crew are not responsible for disasters to an unseaworthy ship, improperly tackled and without barometer or other instruments essential to safe navigation. The sponsors and operators of capitalism may respond that they are not blameworthy—it was the ship, but they can not defend both themselves and the ship; nor expect the mass of mankind again to entrust themselves to such a ship and officers and crew; however happy they may be to sail on another ship with the same officers and crew. And, here a tribute may be paid in passing, to the financial, industrial and political leaders of America, the present difficulties are not of their making: they are, taken by and large, men of great ability, integrity, force and public spirit, within the limitations permitted them by the capitalistic system, to think, speak or act their inner convictions. We could look forward with abundant confidence to a day when our present leaders are still leaders, under a different economic system, wherein their high distinction and reward shall be the confidence and gratitude of a happy people, and not the accumulation of wealth to the chorus of imprecations of unhappy, unemployed, exploited, cheated millions.

We have said that until the present day it has not been clear beyond argument that capitalism was the cause of human disaster. A nation may be mismanaged as well as a business and one may properly contend that the enterprise can not be condemned because of bad management. So as one nation or another has in the past run into trouble, at least a possible explanation has existed in its local political conditions or mismanagement, but what shall be said when the entire world dominated and controlled by capitalism suddenly goes to smash in all its parts. The only thing common to all the nations involved in the present world disaster is capitalism. Some are republics, some monarchies, some fascist, some dictatorships; some were on one side, some on the other in the Great War; some are creditors, others debtors, for the war obligations and reparations: some are Catholic, some Protestant, and at least one Shintoist; all but two of them speak different languages, have different customs and entirely different racial and political histories. Nothing among them is in common, except the capitalistic system.

It is a very common thing if half a village is stricken with ptomaine to conclude that the cause was some bad comestible or water on an excursion or picnic which those people attended. This is a very sensible kind of reasoning: if all those people ordinarily lived in different homes, drank from different wells or spigots and ate their meals at different places, but on one occasion gathered, ate and drank together, and thereafter became ill, there is no human mind not satisfied that the cause of the illness was something they ate or drank on the occasion when they were all together. Apply that simple reasoning to the present world ills in determining the responsibility of the capitalistic system therefor.

But, it may be asked, why has it taken so long to discover these defects and dangers of capitalism, if it has dominated the world for a thousand years? There are two outstanding reasons for this: the first is that mechanical and engineering accomplishments have joined the various parts of the world so closely that for the first time we can know, and it can not be concealed from us, that the entire world is suffering in the same way. Let us go back to the village case of ptomaine poisoning: instead of a village let us assume a round up or a rodeo on the plains or the pampas: men gather and depart to distant places: if they never again foregather or if it be years later, it would never be known that the illness was common because the cause was common. Or to change the illustration, let us consider the spread of certain malignant disease, which attacks one race and not another, as in the African jungle. If the communities are remote and no contact exists between them, neither the contagion nor cause of the ailment is demonstrable; but if a safari comes through, picks up natives of one village and another, the ailment breaks out, but does not attack the white men: we know then that the cause is associated with nature or manner of life of the locale and its inhabitants, and we are able to discover its cause by a process of elimination. Hence, we are now for reasons of improved communication and more intimate international contacts able to perceive for the first time the relation between existing unhappiness and misery and the capitalistic state. The second reason why it is now apparent for the first time that capitalism is the root of our evils, is this: The World War and its financial problems put capitalism to its first real test as an economic system; never theretofore had the system been tested. That broad statement is proved very simply: in other periods of depression in this country or other countries, such depressions have rarely attacked more than one or two of the capitalistic countries at one and the same time. When one was weak, the other was strong; when one had to borrow the other was able to lend, just as English and German capital built our railroads and financed the revival of American industry after the unfortunate Civil War. It is in our day when the nations of capitalism meet the test of hanging together; and failing that they are hanging separately, because they are offspring of the same system.

It will be regrettable indeed if such facts revealed by world conditions can not be observed impersonally, thought out reasonably, and dealt with dispassionately. The most imperturbable thing in the world is a fact, and human beings have less excuse for being emotional or excitable when dealing with facts than in any other situation. One simple fact concerning world conditions today is that foreseen by Carlyle, whose following words are singularly applicable to capitalism:

> "It is evident that whatever is not made of asbestos will have to be burned in this world. It will not stand the heat it is getting exposed to."

Capitalism stands at the bar of public opinion, condemned out of its own mouth, confessing promises broken, guarantees valueless, its system a failure. The question for the great majority is whether the hearts and minds of the average man and woman are fit for any more honorable and idealistic system. Each of us and all of us must probe deeply into our consciences before we turn to a new and different method. One does not apply the "honor system" in schools among little children, they are not up to it; one does not apply the "honor system" at all among crooks and habitual criminals, they are not fit for it.

Recognizing, as is clear, that capitalism pleads guilty and throws itself on the mercy of the court of public opinion, we must not be hasty in imposing sentence. It has a brilliant record of achievement, cruel, ruthless, unjust, but it has accomplished great things for human welfare, infinitely more than all the religionists and reformers put together. It formed an illicit alliance with learning and science, but out of that alliance have come great works for the good of man, which neither learning nor science could have accomplished alone or together. Whether it has been more cruel, ruthless and unjust than was necessary in dealing with human nature of the ilk it dealt with is not too certain; and the question remains, until humanity is given a chance to demonstrate its true qualities under a just economic system, whether the miserable breed of men and women are *the causes* or *the results of capitalism.* One must be convinced that the depravity of the human race is the result of the wretchedness in which it has been bred, before he can put heart and soul into any forward movement. We know that the finest dog can be made a snarling cur by ill-treatment and abuse; that the noblest horse can become a vicious and dangerous animal if ignorantly and cruelly handled. Unless, at least, the contrary is proved, we have a right to believe that crooked men and women have been bent that way by the system under which they had to exist; that the ignoble and despicable traits of deceit and selfishness in all of us have been instilled and ingrained by a system of brutal injustice and unfair competition and exploitation.

The case against capitalism and its sponsors is not clear, except on one point: it has failed, it has wrecked the world and it has found no way out of its own disaster. Therefore, let it and its sponsors depart in peace under a suspended sentence, which will be invoked only if it attempts to deny its guilt and by force to reinstate its power.

To do either would be consummate stupidity, but capitalism has been frequently guilty of that. The evidence of its failure is all about us. There is no use marshalling the facts as to bank failures, unemployment, lost wages, foreclosed farms, suicide and despair; it is not a proud page in American history and is already sufficiently recorded in every edition and on every page of the daily press which supports that capitalistic system of which one of its chief exponents said during the great anthracite coal strike in 1902: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of this country."

That capitalism has no way out of its own disaster is revealed by its own hysteria, its own lack of self-control, its own amazing inconsistencies.

When in America the depression first manifested itself visibly on the New York Stock Exchange, a great financier saw in it only an air-pocket. But the Stock Exchange had to close a few days later to stem the rush of selling and in two years security values on that exchange had disappeared to the extent of seventy-five billion dollars, an amount larger than the entire cost of the Great War.

When it was apparent that the whole economic structure of the country was threatened by short-selling of securities and commodities, capitalism proved totally unable to control the wolves and jackals in their numbers and the nation came to its knees, bleeding and wounded by their traitorous acts.

When it stood amid the ruins of its own desolation, capitalism turned whiningly to the government for help, and its great doctrine that government had no right to interfere in business, and what was wanted was "more business in government" and "less government in business" was forgotten and it cringingly begged for government support and help. When it faced the inevitable results of its own stupidity and ruthlessness, it pleaded for a dole to business from that same government in which its utmost powers had been exerted to prevent a dole to labor and the unemployed.

Shall we again trust a system which has proved totally incompetent to manage human affairs, which has proved weak and unable to control or discipline its own disciples, which has proved cowardly and manifested all the traits of a beaten bully, which has proved unfit and unable to stand by in disasters of its own making or to do aught worth while to right the wrongs and desolation it produced? Perhaps, but only if it demonstrates before disaster is complete, that it had in it the stuff of which ruling systems, as well as emperors, must be made.

We shall not accept sedatives such as old-age insurance and unemployment insurance. If there be an economic system worse than either capitalism or socialism, it will be a bastard offspring of both systems, which is manifest in such ideas as old-age insurance and unemployment insurance. In a just and decently ordered world, the old will be a blessing, not a burden, and joblessness can not exist.

With millions of bushels of wheat being burnt or stored or wasted, millions of people starve.

With millions of bales of cotton and more millions of pounds of wool finding no market at even their production cost, in a single philanthropic center in New York City, homeless, half clothed men are 60% without underwear and 90% without socks for their feet.

With the finest physical environment in the world, in every rural community of America there are destitute families, shivering in hovels and half fed or not at all, for want of opportunity to turn their labors into bodily necessities, from the inability to get light or warmth, which were our mines and water-powers not monopolized and exploited, would not cost two cents a day; with idiot children as the result of inbreeding from the sordid fact that there is but one free for all amusement and diversion in the poverty of the hills and remote sections of the countryside; with girls and boys headed down hill (enumerate the shot gun marriages in small communities or talk to the village doctor) because of the lack of decent amusement and diversion and the realization from their own observations of village life and characters, that "tryin' don't get nowhere these days". Whether capitalism views the white lights of Broadway with its bestial and depraved side streets or the half-dark, ill-lighted village street of almost any American village, it has naught to be proud of: they are the symbols of souls consumed or withered in the effort to escape a life made hopeless by being cheated of natural rights.

The largest group of faithful, humble but important employees of the commonwealth are the public school teachers. For them capitalism has brought misery and starvation in several municipalities of this country, keeping them at their task, unable to pay them therefor, while in the second largest city of America teachers to the number of seven thousand go hungry "because they could not afford even soup and a roll. They have been paid only for six weeks in the last seven months they have taught. Many of them will have scanty dinners tonight. Thousands of policemen, firemen, librarians, truck drivers, inspectors, clerks and other municipal employees are in equally precarious plight. The city can not afford to pay their salaries".

While the pulpit and civic organizations wail of conscienceless graft in city governments, it is suddenly revealed that all the while the high priests of capitalism, the bankers, have had it in their power to stop corruption and waste, by dictating the terms of municipal borrowings.

After years in which the poor little families have paid as high as thirty cents a gallon for gasoline to get out in God's country, it is suddenly made clear by a depression that gasoline can be sold at a profit for ten or eleven cents a gallon; the while capitalism in the guise of oil companies has stood like a highwayman on every road, extorting nearly a penny a mile for the privilege of riding on public highways in the fresh air.

The small investors and widows and thrift agencies of the country have purchased billions in real estate first mortgage bonds assured by the very highest representatives of capitalism that the mortgage represented not over two thirds of the genuine value of the property, certified to by the great and the near-great among real estate experts, and sealed with the impress of famous financial institutions and banks, as trustees, when suddenly it appears that in fact the property is not worth one-fifth of the mortgage so far as the bondholder's ability to realize on his investment is possible.

Billions of foreign bonds are sold to the ignorant public under the highest names in the roster of capitalism, with unfavorable criticism suppressed by its power in government departments; then it is discovered that interest can not be met thereon and that special "ambassadors", former diplomats and people of important contact were employed to negotiate the loans and it was obvious, that in more than one case, American money was being borrowed from trusting investors, to line the pockets of grafting public officials of high and low degree in the borrowing country.

Let us not prolong the catalogue how capitalism has done the human race good. Rather let us as reasonable human beings, without hatred or venom, begin to consider what is best for the great majority.

On the escutcheon of capitalism there is no darker blot than in what it has done to that largest single group of its own most loyal and patient followers, the farmers and landed peasantry.

Every farmer is, of course, a capitalist, if he owns, however deeply mortgaged, the acres which he tills. For capitalism these faithful adherents have raised food and "cannon fodder". Their reward has been desolation and destruction during wars of their property and the annihilation of their offspring. They have shown an amazing fidelity, of the type of the little mother, five years old, who explained to a visiting nurse that her infant brother, being terribly hungry, always cried, because he was not old enough to understand the conditions or why they had no clothes, or heat or food. The farming class will probably be the last to fight for capitalism, for they will fear any change which appears to alter things as they have been for generations. It will take patience and understanding to make the farmer and land-owning peasant see that he will be infinitely better off—tax free in a world of economic justice, than he is maintaining a fiction of ownership which has put unbearable loads upon him and his forebears through the ages. One thing which must be held sacred is his right to use all the land he can till and to house his Lares and Penates, undisturbed, in the ancestral homestead: and more, it must be seen to, that he has that use at a lesser cost in money and labor than he has heretofore paid, as the price of the fiction of property. Finally there must never again come a time when foreclosures or debts can force him off his land and make him and his wanderers on this footstool, or when such a thing can happen as is reported in the press of the time this is written:

> "Copenhagen, Jan. 14, 1932.—The desperate conditions under which Danish agriculture is struggling are strikingly illustrated

in a report that a farm sold at a compulsory auction brought only 100 Danish kroner, or less than $20."

To say of capitalism that it has proved incompetent is the unkindest cut of all—but to this charge it can answer only with one plea in avoidance—we have not been incompetent, only insincere. It is the essence of capitalism that the few shall govern the many: now to justify its rule of the few, capitalism must be based upon one of two possible forms of oligarchy: aristocracy or plutocracy. Aristocracy means government by the best, the ablest, the finest, noblest and most intelligent and competent; plutocracy means government by the wealthiest who through control of wealth are able to command the submission and direct the conduct of the masses; plutocracy makes no claim to brains, only money power. Now capitalism does not admit it is plutocracy; it must, therefore, in the minds of its own adherents, be aristocracy and, hence, prepared to prove that it is fine, noble, intelligent, and competent in its aims and methods. Now what are the facts in this regard? We shall refer to but four aspects of its methods and accomplishments, testing them from the standpoint of their sincerity and intelligence.

Capitalism found itself confronted with the liquor problem, which had two nasty angles: the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages had been the foundation of many important American fortunes; capitalism believes in fortunes gained by inheritance and competition, especially where any business offers large profits; now competition in the liquor business meant increasing the consumption; the masses who did drink must be taught to drink more and those who did not drink induced or seduced into becoming drinkers; the objective naturally was to make as many people as possible drink as much as possible. The method was to advertise freely and educate the people to drink whiskies, beer, wines and liquors. Of course, there was more profit in the more costly drinks, hence, the high goal of the liquor trade was a nation of whisky drinkers, not, however, neglecting the smaller profits from beers and less potent and cheaper alcoholic beverages. Now advertising by distillers and brewers also contributed to the success of capitalism and few journals declined such advertising. But as any good merchant or manufacturer knows, he really has to depend on retail distribution; and hence it was necessary that the consumer should not have to go out of his way to satisfy his desires, and the nearer the place of consumption was to his work and home, the less time he would spend getting to and fro and the more time he could spend in the place of dispensation. Hence came the "pub" and the corner saloon. Again, it is a well known trait of the human race, when satisfying one's appetites to become jovial, and crave companionship; so the place of dispensation must have a social charm and convivial atmosphere; in short there must be added to the lure of intoxication, the attraction of sociability; hence came the gilded trimmings, the cheerful lights, so-called artistic surroundings and comfortable chairs and tables and nickelodeon. Consumption naturally was stimulated by these improvements, but so was competition, that watchword of capitalism. And new improvements had to be thought of. Well, the liquor business went pretty low in its competition: it added dice and gambling; it hooked on to the sex appeal of lewd paintings and vile pictures and, here and there, women in the flesh, with convenient rooms nearby; competition grew and methods became more desperate: food was gratis for those who would drink, and free lunch was carefully selected of thirst inspiring comestibles, and finally the liquor business sank to the lowest form of capitalistic competition: by a method of illicit financing, brewers and distillers went into the business of manufacturing drunkards, by putting the most attractive emporiums, three and four to even a quiet corner, as their own business ventures; they became manufacturers, wholesalers, distributers, and retailers by the clever device of allying the saloon with district politics: any popular man with a following could become a saloon keeper, a business man, a proprietor with an ideal headquarters to control the politics and political graft of his little principality, and, of all capitalistic enterprises, saloon-keeping became the only one in which a man could own something who had no capital, where in fact, Tom, Dick or Harry became a capitalist by the amazing process of lifting himself by his own boot straps, if he could swing enough human souls into drunkards' graves and keep on doing it, interlarded with turning virgins into harlots and clerks into gamblers and bookmakers. Now, capitalistic competition had gone too far, and yet here was one of the most quickly operating units of capitalistic enterprise. Seemingly there should have been brains enough in this aristocratic system, headed by the wisest and the best, to have said to this battalion of its faithful soldiers, "you are offending public decency and our system depends on maintaining outward decency", and commanded that the liquor trade confine itself to the laws of supply and demand and cease manufacturing drunkards; and to have ordered its legislatures to prohibit by law any zealous manufacturer of alcoholic beverages from financing the retailer. This would automatically have closed three out of every five saloons, and prevented new ones starting up. It is more amazing that the intelligent leaders of capitalism, even if they had not thought of it themselves did not see the merits of the suggestion when it was made to them, and it was pointed out that if brewers and distillers were permitted to lend morally irresponsible persons all the cash needed, even to get their licenses, the evil would bring its own destruction. The powers that be in capitalism could have controlled the liquor traffic; they failed because they were insincere or cowardly, unless they plead stupidity, which is not done by those who claim to be the best and the wise.

Their blunders or cowardice brought prohibition, as it had brought the war before it and the world depression after it. As in the case of the results of the war and the depression, there has been totally lacking in the capitalistic regime any constructive plan to remedy the disasters of their own making, and yet there has never been a moment when an intelligent consideration and analysis of the fundamental nature of the liquor traffic problem would have failed to reveal its instant remedy—but that remedy would have surrendered one of the holiest tenets of the capitalistic creed and code; it was, therefore, not *available*. Men and women need and crave a small amount of alcoholic stimulant; the average man and woman is, in this regard, temperate, when freed from the artificial excitement of cheating the law and doing the surreptitious, which appeals to the childish mischief which survives in most people; in moderation, alcoholic beverages are not *per se* wrong or evil nor do they present a social problem; centuries prove this. Prohibition is not a moral issue; much less a religious issue; it is not a political question, nor a social problem. It presents only an economic question: is the sale of intoxicating beverages a legitimate enterprise for commercial exploitation and private profit? It is not, but capitalism can not make such an admission about any business: it is better to pretend to abolish the business. That is the true inwardness of this "noble experiment" in trying to make part of the population live as another part thinks it should.

The way out is equally obvious: permit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages without profit, beyond a reasonable return, not over 6% on the actual investment, and put it under the same supervision as public utility companies and railroads are supposed to be under; at least, until that day where under a wiser and just economic system, which will replace capitalism, we shall have no need even for these regulatory bodies.

We turn now to another pathetic failure of the capitalistic system, which has cost in the last five years billions of dollars in losses to millions of men and women and taken their lifetime savings. That is the excessive, imprudent, and fraudulent sale of securities. Again we see the hypocritical gestures of capitalism in so-called "blue sky laws" and state bureaus of securities; laughed at by swindlers and used for advertising purposes by so-called legitimate investment bankers. If these laws have teeth, they are of the kind reputed to be used in punching the holes in Swiss cheese. Again, we must bear in mind that every legislature and the Congress of the United States has been and is under domination of the capitalistic system, so what they do is capitalism's ideas of legislation and what they fail to do is capitalism's ideas of what should be left alone. Whenever excessive securities are issued the public suffers; capitalism calls the period of suffering, deflation. Whenever securities are imprudently issued, that is to supply capital or loans for over-expansion, the public suffers; capitalism calls the period of suffering inflation; whenever securities are fraudulently issued, capital is lost and diverted from where it is needed and ignorant investors pauperized. No one can challenge the assertion, that not a bond or share of stock has ever been issued and sold without the implied consent of the government of some state and/or the Federal government and the tacit approval of the capitalistic system; for the undeniable reason that every corporation is subject to the control of its state of incorporation and can not issue securities of any kind against its prohibition; and the sale of such securities outside of the state brings the control within the powers of the United States government. If a disaster occurs and lives are lost, and it can be shown X had the power to prevent it, who is to blame? If securities have been issued excessively, imprudently and fraudulently, causing a financial panic, industrial depression and unspeakable miseries to swindled investors; and it is the fact that Congress and every legislature in the country is under capitalistic control, and that acting separately or together the legislatures and Congress could have prevented and prohibited the sale of those securities, who is to blame—if not the capitalistic system?

Let us turn now to recent proceedings of one of the great American academies of thought and study, whose board of trustees would outshine almost any great bank or financial institution in its membership of outstanding representatives of the capitalistic system. These proceedings were directed to the inquiry "Can prices, production and employment be effectively regulated?" It would have been more completely frank if the words had been added "under the capitalistic system." In any event, the conclusion is apparently unanimous as between the advocates and opponents of capitalism, for its own spokesmen in this symposium are agreed that capitalism can not effectively regulate prices, production, and employment. It is, however, interesting to quote the following from one of the papers:

> "My thesis may be expressed in the phrase 'two-cent electricity for the home.' This thesis of necessity embraces the importance of expanding the domestic consumption of electricity, but not beyond what is at present possible where domestic rates are on a cost-of-service basis.
>
> Present domestic rate levels in this country are based largely on the reactionary conception of a static industry frozen in its present form some fifteen to twenty years ago, when homes purchased electricity only for lighting. Regulation has been too ineffectual and utility executives have been blind to the fact that such a policy alone stood in the way of developing domestic consumption into the most stable market for power.
>
> In the first place, to think clearly about electric rates, we must have a sense of the

importance of the kilowatt hour consumed in the home or available in the little villages of the land. Utility executives, attempting to defend the high domestic rates charged by private companies in the United States, contend that political considerations determine the low domestic rates charged by publicly owned systems in this country and Canada.

This is untrue. The determining consideration, where homes are enabled to secure cheap electricity, is more likely to be social than political. The leaders, local and otherwise, who have built up publicly owned electric systems in order to provide homes with cheap electricity have seen the two-cent kilowatt hour as a transformer of the home, as a lightener of household drudgery.

I should like to carry your imagination further to conceive of an electrical revolution redeeming our urban order from the curse that has always brought mighty civilizations to decay. The industrial revolution, made by steam power, tended to drain the countryside of its vitality, drawing workers into congested, slum-ridden manufacturing towns. This tendency to sunder agriculture from industry will be continued by an electric rate policy which gives the great manufacturer the lowest possible rates while forcing the small customer to carry the burden of the industry.

On the other hand, electricity available to the urban and rural home at an average of two cents or less per kilowatt hour has in it the power to produce a benevolent social revolution, again decentralizing industry, restoring some of it to the village and even to

> the home, and re-creating the harmonious balance of rural and urban life, and perhaps even the economic integrity of the family. Social, not political, considerations urge the lowest possible domestic electric rates.
>
> The two-cent kilowatt hour for the home is coming in this country just as soon as the reactionary attitude of utility executives is overcome and they are made to realize that rate schedules low enough to encourage high domestic consumption are in the interest of all concerned, including the companies themselves. There is no reason in the cost of rendering domestic service which should hinder the immediate realization of this expectation."

In each of these three matters referred to the same vice of capitalism is apparent. It has a conscience, and be it said to the eternal credit of its leaders in our time that they have been as human and progressive as the system permits: in fact as one comes to know these men personally, they offer, perhaps, the most conclusive evidence against capitalism; if men of their high intelligence and native nobility can not make it work, it is unworkable and the sooner we are rid of it the better. Because such men are sensitive to the inadequacy and injustice in the achievements of the system to which they are committed, they have tried to rectify it, as a fine son of a great capitalist might seek to cancel by charity the ruthlessness of the methods used in accumulating the family wealth. Their effort is through regulation, which, like most compromises, falls down between the two stools of economic justice and exploitation of the masses. Why should it be necessary to have public bodies and commissions, like referees in a prize ring, to keep capitalism from hitting the masses below the belt? Human relations ought not to require Marquis of Queensbury rules, and it won't, when we come to the realization that the thing to do is to break down private ownership of land and natural resources and get rid of corporate monopoly and the fiction of inheritance. We shall rid the strong of the temptation to exploit the weak; we shall start men foot to foot in a sportsmanlike bout of life, and we shall take the brass knuckles out of the gloves of the corporate bully and the irresponsible offspring of illicit inheritance.

The chief cause of general wretchedness is general crookedness. There are very respectable scientists who tell us that the instinctive lying instincts of children prove the deceitful character of man. It is more or less natural that man, who has had to raise himself from savagery by conquest of greater forces than his own, of animals stronger than himself, should have developed craft as his major weapon, in short, that deception and fraud should be instinctive with him. Man is a natural born liar in his words and conduct. Truth, its practice and the love of it, is an acquired trait.

The appeal for truth must be an appeal to reason. Few men, women or children will be honest, or live honestly, unless they are convinced that "honesty is the best policy." The great majority of peoples in all nations are not so convinced, except the Chinese, perhaps because their civilization is thousands of years older than ours. Burns wrote that the "noblest work of God is an honest man"; the fact is that the rarest work of God is an honest man and it is just as true today as it was when Diogenes started out with a lantern: he would have just as difficult a task if he had used a modern searchlight. How, in the name of creation, can men be honest with each other, when scarcely one of us can be honest with himself? In the lines of Philemon:

> "His be the praise, who looking down with scorn,
> On the false judgment of the partial herd,
> Consults his own clear heart and boldly dares
> To be, not to be thought, an honest man."

"Honeste vivere," as Justinian put it, to live honestly, as it is literally translated, is the highest achievement of mortal man.

Let us admit frankly to ourselves if not to each other, that we, each and every one of us, is a fraud, and lies to himself, and lives a lie, in his religion, in his patriotism, in his love and his home life, in his business relations, and even toward himself.

Must we particularize: if so, let us look facts in the face.

Is there a church member or communicant who believes all that he pretends to believe? Is there any intelligent human being who believes that Christ was born unnaturally or that he physically rose from the dead? Is there an intelligent Catholic who believes that the priest he confesses to can really forgive his sins (and it is only just to say that such is not the real doctrine of Catholicism). Is there an Episcopalian who believes that their smug, comfortable, well fed and wined bishop, is really a follower of the Christ, who said his ministers must sell all, even their extra cloak, give to the poor, and follow Me. Is there a Presbyterian who believes that the sanctimonious white haired old fellow who sits at the end of the best located pew, and has been twice through bankruptcy as a stockbroker, to escape liability to his customers, is really an elder chosen by God, for the Church of Christ on earth? Is there a Baptist who honestly thinks that unless a human being is immersed all over and brought up with hair dripping he can not save his soul? Is there a Methodist who really believes it is a part of the job of Christ's bishops on earth to be mixed up with bucket shops and organize politics to resist the election of an honest man to the presidency because he is a Catholic? Without multiplying illustrations, let us admit we are hypocrites about religion.

Now, consider our charities. Every school child in America has been solemnly required to read "The Vision of Sir Launfal," which, if it means anything means that charity is "not what we give but what we share, because the gift without the giver is bare." Have you, or you, or you ever so given to charity? Oh, yes, you have sent your worn, out of style garment, which you could not sell, to the Salvation Army. You have given to charity, but never as much as even a tenth of your income and never any part of your capital. And most of what you have given has had to be enticed from you, in the guise of benefits, prize fights, kirmesses, dances, etc., etc., when for what you gave, you got a profit in amusement, or social prestige, or by getting your name in the paper as a member of the committee or one of the patrons. Again not to multiply illustrations, let us confess we are crooked about our charities.

A famous writer once put down this sentence: "It is impossible to calculate the moral mischief, if I may so express it, that mental lying has produced in society." Whether we term it mental lying or crooked thinking, its effects go into the every day disappointments, sorrows, and misery of life, as one of their fundamental causes, if not the root of them. It is this which causes the heartbreaks of the idealist and lays low the zeal of the true humanitarian. It takes a high degree of penetration and courageous thought to escape the recurring conviction that men, women and children are mean, lying, crooked creatures and the truth is not in them. From taxicabs to armaments, from apple vending to reparations, human activities are built on fraud and deceit. Hardly had the apple stands been placed on the street corners of New York and Boston to aid the unemployed before irrefutable evidence appeared that the poor jobless venders were prey to a racket, as it is called, and subject to tribute. Not even the milk of nursing babies escapes the pollution of cheating. The "free communication" of ideas through the firmament is an illusion, behind which will be found an implacable, though polite censorship of what "goes on the air". The boasted freedom of universities and institutions of learning is in many, many instances a deception; and only that is taught, or preached or written, or can get taught, or preached or written, which conforms to the faith or requirements of those who support the institution. There would probably be more academic freedom in America, if intercollegiate sports were so commercialized as to make our colleges and universities self-sustaining. Journalism reeks with mental lying and crooked thinking and poisons the wells of public opinion as disastrously as barbarians once poisoned the water supplies of their enemies; it has become a by-word, that one can not believe everything that one sees in the papers. Without sacrilege, one could paraphrase the words of the psalmist, there is no speech or language where the voice of mental lying and crooked thinking is not heard.

The Great War was a tissue of lies beginning in the vari-colored papers of diplomacy at its outbreak, in the propaganda on both sides, ending in the Versailles Treaty and in the reparation settlement. The American people were lied to about atrocities, for it must be remembered that there is no more potent deception than that coated with a veneer of truth. The French peasants were deceived by the insidious impression, that still must be reckoned with and accounts for more than a little of the post-war economic problems, that if, bled white though they were, they would fight the war through to victory, they would have no taxes to pay. The German people were misled by the promises of the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan, the Russians were and are being brutally cheated with the false hopes, the misrepresented achievements and the impossible promises of Bolshevism and its Five Year Plan. The whole international debt situation reeks with fraud and deception, for which many generations besides our own must pay and pay and pay. And England has just written another lie into history; the alluring promise of the Socialist government and the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to give God's land back to the people" slips quietly into limbo, as a new viscount joins the House of Lords.

Now, turn if you will to the ordinary course of government and the administration of justice. The most faithful and one of the largest contributors to his party manufactures a certain product or imports a certain raw material, we will not be personal or mention the product; the tariff is to be revised, a quiet meeting at the Willard in Washington: certain things just can't be done, and they are not. Probably the only honest political organization in America is Tammany Hall: it admits its purposes and its methods. Legislation effects public control of certain public utility rates; jokers must get into the bill; a quiet chat in an Executive Mansion, three or four present; years later litigation reveals the joker. Property has been seized as a war measure: proper counsel is retained, details are arranged, three or four government employees are enriched, the end is accomplished. Whether it be oil, sugar, wool, steel, ships, foreign loans, etc., etc., whether it be America, France or any other nation, government and legislation are rarely on the level.

Turn to ordinary commerce: it is safe to say that at least half the commercial orders of the world for raw materials or finished products are obtained by more or less refined forms of bribery, which descend from the cultured rewards of social distinction to the petty tip of a nickel, whereby the *regular* customer gets more clams in his chowder at the cafeteria than the stranger who does not "know the ropes".

The most flagrant mixture of governmental and commercial crookedness has come in the American effort at the prohibition of the liquor traffic. There is not a man or woman, and alas not a child, if we include in children those from fourteen to twenty-one, who has suffered deprivation of alcohol, if they had or could beg, borrow or steal the wherewithal with which to buy what they wanted. It is safe to say that a considerable proportion of the banks and legal profession have not declined to accept emoluments arising directly or indirectly, out of the illicit business of selling liquor.

From charity to commerce, from legislation to love, from banking to ball-games, we are generally crooked in our thoughts and actions. Whether it be in the de luxe home of the wealthy or the cottage of the workman, the son and daughter are supposed to make a "good marriage"; but good marriage does not mean, are the two fitted, by ancestry and physical and moral qualities to bring forth offspring who will be a credit and useful to the progress of man; of course not; the question is will Emily have more and better clothes and a maid to do her work or a chauffeur to drive her car; will Herbert have an in-law who will help him hold his job with the brokerage firm by which he is employed.

What if the bonds to be secured by the indenture are not what they will be thought to be by the public, there is a good spread for the bankers and a handsome commission for the trust company that is appointed trustee, even if its name is used to foist the bonds on the public.

It is too sordid to continue with the pathetic and stupid crookedness of our every day life. Many a Christmas gift in its mercantile history is an ironic messenger, not of peace, good will on earth, but of a chain of human crookedness, which started in some drunken revel in a demimonde's apartment to clinch the order for the manufacturer; the merchandise moved forward through a customs official who accepted untrue valuations, in exchange for a treasury note or a case of whiskey, advanced through a trucking concern whose wagons got alongside the ship, ahead of their turn, because traffic officers and pier employees were pettily bribed, was unloaded at the expense of blocked traffic through a crowded area because some one had been "seen" and understood, for a consideration, that trucks had to block traffic if headed for this or that department store, and finally was disposed of to the public by an orthodox Jewish merchant, whose advertising for weeks had capitalized the spirit of Christmas giving, as a memorial to one whom he and his ancestors have consistently denied and cast aspersions on the circumstances of his nativity.

Where has this mesh of mental lies, hypocrisy, and crooked thinking led us? Is any one the better off for it? Accept if you will the theory of "lubrication," that wheels have to be greased, if one is to get anywhere or get what they want, whether it is an illicit profit or the sycophantic adulation of a head waiter, or even more clams in your store-made chowder. There is always some one who can apply a little more grease, pay higher tips, distribute larger favors, more adept in the arts of modern bribery.

Yet, until we change our ideas about these things: until we realize that, quite apart from morals, honesty is the best policy, what right has any of us to talk about corruption in public service, vice on the streets of our cities, godlessness in nations and their wars, or any other of the damnable results of general crookedness, in which each of us has a part, and in which each of us participates, whenever we get a chance and it appears for our own profit or benefit.

It is just as true that within one is hell, as well as the kingdom of heaven of which Christ talked; and until we are willing, man and woman, to go straight, let us not condemn the crookedness or the wretchedness or the injustice of the world in which we live.

Of course, we pay: that is the reason God Almighty does not, and does not have to concern Himself about our morals and conduct. He gave each of us with rare exceptions, to know the difference between right and wrong; and being a wise God, He gave it to each of us to decide what way we choose to go; and He did not expect us to concern ourselves which way others go, until they become public nuisances; it is the concern of each of us to deal with his own morals, not the other fellow's. Regiments and armies are organized upon the theory that men will be loyal and obey commands and be true soldiers; society seems to be organized on the theory that all in the ranks are ready to desert and betray the cause if they get a chance. We sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers", but none of us are sure that we are soldiers and, if we are honest about it, we know we are not Christians.

There is nothing harder to believe in than humanity. If the five inch fish fossil recently discovered in the Baltic is the much sought "missing link" and is, as estimated, a billion years old, one can not but wonder what it links us to, if the vicious habits of mankind today represent a billion years of development and refinement. You go on business or pleasure to another city. The driver of the taxicab you step into is cheating the traffic regulations, because the policeman is off duty or looking the other way; his register may or may not be accurate, dependent on whether he knows how to tamper with the clock without being caught; or you take a car or subway train which is being run at less frequency than the law requires or the public service commission has ordered; you enter an apartment house and the service will be largely determined by how liberal your host was at Christmas; you go to an office and your reception is visibly affected if you forgot to send a box of candy to the young lady at the switchboard the last time you were in town; at office or in your host's apartment you drink cocktails, possible only by a sequence of crime, murder and destruction of human lives and souls; you go to your hotel and the smile of welcome is in direct ratio to your liberality in gratuities when you left last time; you seek tickets for a play and you find the box office is all sold out but plenty next door in a cigar store, at a premium, if you can get as far as the cigar store for those on the street who have the "best seats" in their pockets; you take up a tabloid newspaper at breakfast and are regaled with a screaming, misleading headline over a totally "faked" photograph of a scene of crime or other sensational happening of the day before; you play golf or go to church over the week-end; you find no shadow of prohibition at the club; or at the church, you drop your collection into a plate passed by a leading citizen, whose tigerish business tactics necessitated your trip to the city. It is not you or they, we are talking of, if it is you, and I and they, and all the rest of us, who share the benefits, if such they be, and must take the obloquy of our cowardly and deceitful existence. It will be said these things are trifling, too petty and insignificant to be given serious treatment; and moreover they are not universal, it is only here and there one finds such things, and it is unfair to generalize from these occasional unhappy incidents. They are not universal, it is true and to be said with thanksgiving; but, alas, it is also true that they are not rare or isolated. Whether general or exceptional, that is not the point: the tragedy is that they exist at all. One does not gather figs and thistles from the same tree or bush. These incidents are, it is true, trifling in their actual pecuniary harm; but they are colossal in their moral significance in the aggregate. A tiny white spot on a lip or breast is a little thing, it is too often treated as a trifling thing, but it may be the insignificant indication of the deadliest of human diseases. Human history has turned on things that seemed trifles at the time. It was a trifling thing for Louis XVI and his court "to live in funny little country houses all dressed up as milk-maids and stable boys and to play at being shepherds in a happy vale of Ancient Hellas", but it was not a trifling thing when "all the pent-up hatred of years of hunger and suffering came to a horrible climax, and the mob of Paris stormed the palace of the Tuileries and murdered the Swiss guards to the last man". That was not the mob of Paris, that was the answer to the lies of a deceitful regime. Let us beware of trifles, for the brood of mental-lying and crooked thinking sooner or later warms their clammy hands in human blood. Let us quit our cant about philosophy, religion, art, poetry, music, culture and even civilization, until we individually and collectively give up the habits of the liar, the blackmailer, the briber, the corruptionist, the sycophant and the hypocrite. As children we lie to our mothers and cheat at school, if we are sure of not getting caught; when we grow up we lie to our spouses, and are insincere in our business and social relations; when we are dead, our beneficiaries collect insurance on policies, a good many of which would never have been issued if the company had known the whole truth about our pedigree and ourselves.

The essence of the whole matter lies in that remarkable word, by which the Greek language translates sin—*amartian.* We are not shooting straight. And because we do not see straight or think straight, we pay tremendously in our private lives and in mass penalties. Perhaps the most significant price we pay in private life is the annihilation of one of the great things of life: the daily relations in our homes and contacts with our fellow men. Mass penalties we pay in panics, depressions, unemployment, starvation and wars.

Is it not clear to the most superficial mind that the inevitable results of crooked thinking are the things we periodically get terribly excited about: gunmen and rackets, political corruption, economic depressions and wars, in public affairs; divorce, vice, and godlessness in private relations?

Any one of us who buys contraband liquor is a partner in rackets, the support of gunmen.

Any one of us, who being assured he is safe, hands a twenty dollar note to a customs inspector, or a five dollar bill to a traffic cop, is a partner in public corruption.

Any one of us who sells stocks short in a period of depression is a cause of economic depression and as foul a traitor to his country as one who sells to a foreign government the fortification plans of the Virginia Capes.

Any one of us who publishes or spreads false rumors or stimulates hatred for any race or people is a partner of the god of war.

Any one of us who treats marriage as a convenience and other than the holiest sacrament man or woman can enter, is a participant in breaking down the most necessary thing in the affairs of mankind, a true home life.

Any one of us, who feeling safe, hires the body or seduces the soul of man or woman is a partner in the red light district and the white slave traffic.

Any one of us who enters a pew and bows his head or sings the Doxology, and for the days of the weeks gives less than full value in service or merchandise or cheats his neighbor, crucifies Christ and sets God at naught, far more, in the aggregate, than all the wild ravings of atheists and agnostics; we are makers of a godless world.

If punishment were personal; if by our crooked thinking and wrong action, we hurt only ourselves, that would be just; but we slay our brethren thereby, as definitely as Cain slew Abel, in the Biblical allegory and for much the same reason.

The tragedy of life lies largely in what we have here termed mass penalties.

It is safe to say that in the world today, a hundred million people face the desperation of starvation because you, and you, and you, and I, have been crooked in our thinking and our practices. It is safe to say that countless millions of children yet unborn, face life as a horror because you, and you, and you, and I, have not been honest with ourselves, just to our fellow men, or sincere towards our Creator.

Let us consider but the simple things, which are a constant at the moment in our daily lives, the home and our livelihood.

Throughout the Western world today, children, openly or furtively, sneer at their parents.

Throughout the whole world, millions challenge the wisdom and justice of the present order of things economically.

Wisely or unwisely, justifiably or otherwise, the oncoming generations are in revolt, and the workers of the world in rebellion. Force will not stop them; only truth; what is the truth—dare we face it?

As to the home and our children the truth is here: we have confused liberty with license, individualism with intelligence.

As to the workers of the world, the truth is here, we have given them a stone when they asked bread.

It is common human experience to find that small defects and apparently trivial misadjustments are the cause of great difficulties, whether in motors, management or men. The economic system under which business and commerce are presently carried forward necessarily involves two extremely serious operating defects and misadjustments. They are these: the average man can neither choose his mate nor his calling, in harmony with his own conscious or subconscious need or desire. The result is unhappy, desolate, and destructive domestic relations, and unproductive, gruelling, grudging drudgery.

It is a repeated observation in life that the termination of a matrimonial mésalliance and the formation of a new one change the entire viewpoint and attitude toward life and fellowmen, and turn to usefulness a futile existence. The desert flourishes as the green bay tree.

It is, also, a repeated observation in life that the slothful indifferent fellow in the wool sorting shed becomes the alert and skillful workman in the weaving room. Now, certainly, there is something wrong with an economic system which constantly, in the majority of instances, puts square pegs in round holes. When the average young man comes to choosing a wife, it is notorious that his range is practically limited by his economic position, which may or may not be consonant with his personal qualities and social training; the same is true of the young woman of marriageable age. Neither of them has the liberty of choice which exists in the forest or field when it comes to mating, and matrimony in most cases becomes a kind of "pot shot" business, because a genuine choice is rarely possible. The result in its larger aspect, is a kind of class inbreeding, and it is extremely rare, always fortuitous and usually resented, when, as is said, a boy or girl marries out of his or her class. In many an instance, it would be far better if élite Park Avenue were linked to Adirondack cottages, than that social register alliances be parentally demanded.

When the young man or young woman comes to choosing a vocation, at the end of public school, there is no serious effort to fit him or her to the place for which by natural talent and desire adapted. The great corporations raid the college graduating class with promises of mahogany desks, telephones, and private secretaries. The public school girl or boy figures out, or the parents do, where the best white collar jobs are to be found, and he becomes a clerk or salesman, and she a stenographer or a file clerk. This makes too frequently bad office employees out of good plumbers and nurses, just as the university dispensation makes flabby business men out of good farmers, sickly ministers out of good salesmen, indifferent teachers out of good mechanics, lawyers out of poets, and telephone officials out of surgeons. The individuals suffer, the business or calling suffers, society suffers. If any one doubts this, get under the skin of the average young man or woman, and find the frightful indifference of the school teacher, the miserable submission of the clergyman, the discontent of the lawyer, and the general unhappiness of most men and women with their jobs.

The waking hours of the average man or woman are spent at work or at home: what a superb system which makes them miserable most of the time and in most cases all the time! There is a pathos in it, as one will observe the artistic soul of an underfed shipping clerk seeking outlet in striking charcoal sketches on the sides of packing boxes; or the music hunger of the stenographer, who has a voice, carrying her weary distances after a hard day in the office, to get the training and thrill of a free oratorio or singing class.

Again we must challenge emphatically the easy assertion, that these things have to be. Who said so? There is nothing in nature to show it is any part of God's plan; nature proves the contrary. Who made it so? Our stupid, selfish forebears, who perverted God's grace in the distribution of land and natural resources; who set up the congestion of inheritance; and imposed the exploitation by corporate capital and the oppression of monopoly.

If the minds of the learned and scientific had been trained as the minds of the masses to believe that whatever is, is best; that dreadful as things may be, there is nothing to be done about it, we should still be living in the dark ages. The Spartan note to be sounded to the great majority is, to take nothing for granted in the matter of human injustice and misery, to challenge the group or system which says man was born in a vale of tears to plod out his weary way in drudgery and unhappiness; rather to believe in nothing except fundamental truth, justice, and beauty, to know that not only the chief end of man is to seek his own true and substantial happiness; but that such is the divine plan for the human race.

CHAPTER IV

HOME

The family is the origin of all law, government and social relations. The poet's lines to the skylark are not amiss:

> Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam,
> True to the kindred points of Heaven and
> Home.

The future of civilization depends upon the family.

Birth control holds the destiny of nations, races and the world of men. That is, *bona fide* birth control.

It is a deeply impressive fact that at this point, and this alone, God Almighty has surrendered to man the control of the universe. He has given to man the power to make, ennoble, degrade, annihilate or perfect the human race, through the power of procreation and the relationships and influences that flow from it.

The sex relation has provoked as much controversy, absurd sentimentality, oblique morality, erroneous thought and hypocrisy as any phase of human relationships. Barring those extraordinary conditions where either physical, social or economic causes prevent the birth of offspring, the intercourse of the sexes is either the holiest sacrament of which man and woman are capable or it is the mere satisfaction of an appetite, no better or worse, if social or physical consequences are not involved, than eating or drinking. It should be a sacrament; there is no physical or social reason why it cannot be; there are, unfortunately, a host of economic reasons, which now exist and destroy the beauty and happiness of the union of the sexes, until we find ways and means of establishing economic justice. It is perfectly clear that sexual intercourse must be naturalized or spiritualized; it cannot be left where it now is, the plaything of cant and hypocrisy. Whatever its merits as a story or drama, Dreiser's "American Tragedy" is based on facts, known at the time of the occurrence by the author. It illustrates the awful toll on human happiness of a perverted public opinion in regard to sex relationships.

The dominant motif of life, from the generally accepted practice, is sexual passion. It motivates music, opera, painting, drama, and history. It chiefly accounts for human manners and social decorum and niceties. It is a motive of love, of beauty and refinement, and, to a very considerable extent, the basis of masculine ambition and the feminine desire to be charming and lovely. It is the most dynamic and dangerous isolated force in human existence, it overrides religion, as in Faust and Thais, it turns patriots to traitors, good women to profligates, proud fathers into roués; it wrecks business enterprises and empires, or incalculably contributes to achievement; it poisons the soul or elevates it to otherwise unattainable heights; it endows future generations with a divine spark or endangers them with disease of body or soul. And yet this mighty and ancient force is less understood than electricity; it is not good form to discuss it; it is obscene to examine into it; an actual crime to control it and a heinous offense to mention it to children. For this we have to thank the wolves in sheep's clothing among our promoters of morals and professional religion. It helps a lot to frighten human souls into subservience by keeping them ignorant on the matter of sex.

It is peculiar to the animal kingdom to get joy out of procreation, but this phenomenon is common to man and brute. Now for this and other things there must be a reason, as for every other fact of life. It is not hard to find: for the brute offspring involve care and added burdens, more food to hunt, more battles to fight, and the brute that has instinct enough to come over the mountain the easiest way, has instinct enough to know that offspring are going to add to his troubles and when they grow up go off on their own and not stay round to protect him or see that he gets part of a kill when he is too old to hunt; why then does he procreate—because the sex passion at seasons dominates all others. When it comes to humans, these very practical objections to having children are more clearly perceived, because humans can reason. No sensible parent ever has children on a *quid pro quo* basis; they will, in the overwhelming majority of cases, never repay parental love and care and will, as the cub in the jungle, go off on its own as soon as it can hunt for itself and find a mate. Perhaps one of the strongest arguments in proof of a divine mind having ordered the universe, is the supreme intelligence of having conceived a physical sensation which could set at naught body, mind and soul, religion, philosophy, morals, ambition, hope, achievement, patriotism, self-respect, filial piety and every other noble thought and instinct of human kind. There is no use and real danger in mincing matters. This terrific force must be dealt with; religion, even true religion fails to do so, despite fictions to the contrary; the law, of course, cannot cope with it, as can no external force or prohibition, or appeal to ideals or aspiration. Virtue comes only, as Socrates put it, when the fever is over; and from and to some uncertain age, men and women, boys and girls, live in a delirium of sex. It has to be so, for just as the brute would not take on the burden of offspring, if not driven to it by irresistible passion, so few intelligent human beings would procreate, not only for this, but a much more potent reason; so few of the human race find contentment and happiness, that about the most cruel and unintelligent thing in the world, if men and women stopped to reason, would be to enslave some free soul by the toils of the flesh to the misery and unhappiness of our present social order and economic system. In six cases out of ten, children come into the world as the result of accident, uncontrolled lust, exaggerated self-opinion, a desire to continue the control of a fortune, to carry on the pride of a family name or as a kind of cement to hold two ill-fitted mates together by the plan or trick of the one who feels him or her self being slipped out of the sacred bonds of matrimony.

For the average case, the overwhelming majority of cases, the sooner we realize that sexual passion and love are not parts of each other, the more rapidly we shall reach a true solution of this vexatious sex problem. This will shock Mother Grundy, but she has nothing to boast of in keeping her children virtuous, whether lads or maidens, married men or married women. If we could impress upon women, young and middle-aged, the simple fact that man is a hunter and when passionate has no conscience, will lie, steal, commit physical or mental rape to satisfy his desire, and that no man loves a woman who is chiefly concerned in her not becoming a mother, we shall have done more to improve the morals of the feminine sex than all of Mrs. Grundy's precepts, for in sex matters women are less fools than are men.

The whole sex business is a horrible tragedy, if one looks at it as a Greek dramatist would have done. The Supreme Being at this single point hands to man and woman all the prerogatives of omnipotence; He leaves to them the destiny of the race; he gives to them the power to create *nobler creatures than He himself created,* and what happens; the divine spark is used to light a perfumed cigarette, the essence of life to be diverted into sewerage, the sublimest passion to satisfy the most bestial appetite, and when accidents happen, unwanted souls are brought surreptitiously into the world, their identity hidden in a clothes basket or their half formed bodies consigned to an illicit practitioner or the hands of a hungry midwife.

This is what our religion, our social order, and our economic system have done to the one sacrament of life where men and women stand on an equality with God.

There is but one excuse, one reason for all this: The average girl and boy are pure, the great majority are moral and decent. Nature stirs their passions at a given age. They seek companionship and sex cries out to fulfil its God-given destiny. But then what happens; social distinction based on false economic standards, says to the heiress, you shall not marry the farmer's lad, although your own family has lost its native vitality and needs his peasant vigor; economic impossibilities say to the young man, you cannot pay rent, and doctor bills and buy food and clothing for a family, and besides you may lose your job any day, and the system under which you work will see to it that you never become economically independent so you can bargain with your boss; and so the heiress and the farmer go riding in her car, a petting party, appendicitis, a fashionable doctor, the dream of virtue ended, and true manhood stultified; or the factory hand and the hired girl go walking and then murder, death, and the electric chair, as in the Gillette case, reported in the decisions of the courts of New York and dramatized by Dreiser.

It is incomprehensible that such should be the fact of life, with the remedy so apparent that it may be stated thus: an economic system based on justice, whereunder every lad of eighteen or over can marry whom he will and who is willing, and knows that he can well provide for wife and children if he is ready to work; whereunder no girl or woman shall have to work in business, trade, or industry, unless she desires to do so. These things can be as surely and easily accomplished in a just world as to turn on the radio and hear the music of the universe. When the dawn of that day comes, we shall then think of a higher standard of birth; we shall not go the distance of Plato's Republic, but we shall reverse the present absurdity: we shall let boys and girls, and men and women conduct themselves as they choose; if they intend to reproduce, we shall require them to marry but we shall not let them reproduce without a license, based upon scientific inquiry into their fitness and their family history. We shall substitute for fornication, dedication to participation with God in the creation of a nobler race of mortal beings.

The sturdiness of the family is the basic unit of all society. Rome has been called the Eternal City. The eternal cornerstone of civilization has been the family. Let us hope that it will not be found impossible to build a new and modern structure of society because that stone has been there so long, it is immovable, for while it must be moved and certain ivies that have grown around it and certain roots that have grown under it must be cut away, no permanent or happy social order or economic system can be built on any other cornerstone. Plato went irretrievably wrong when in his ideal Republic he planned to breed, raise, and train children like hunting dogs and horses, but Plato lived two thousand years and more ago; he could not know everything and he was totally in error in his conception of the family, as he was in his acceptance of human slavery. It is here, too, that the most modern of social "isms" has accepted a foolish hypothesis, as it has done about religion. The world cannot get on without God and pure family life.

Post-war conditions in Europe and America have forced upon us a reconsideration of views on the sex relationship. It is, as stated, the basis of family life, hence of society and government. Its perversion is a matter of greater import to nations and the human race than the drug problem, yet it is discussed only under conditions where it is unwholesome to discuss it and never mentioned in those circles where its consideration might tend to cure the evils which are rotting out the vitals of the human race, imperilling society and government and the future of mankind. Due to jaundiced religious and social viewpoints, if discussed, it is as a moral problem, and its control is sought through religious "cants" or police regulations. Sexual irregularity is rarely a matter of morals. It is either the result of economic or physical or psychopathic causes, with which neither law nor religion can successfully cope. There is a very definite threat in present day practices of the advanced nations of the world becoming decadent through sexual ignorance or perversion. Even the social aspect of the sexual relation is of lesser moment, however important may be intelligent birth control and a saner attitude towards marriage, divorce, and propagation from a eugenic standpoint. The strictly religious viewpoint of the matter, embodied in the prohibitions of puritanism and the mandates of religion, is too remote from the facts of life as it actually is lived in these days.

Here, as elsewhere in human relations, no permanent progress can be made towards human happiness until and unless we face the facts.

It is safe to say that the history of humanity would have been infinitely more satisfactory had the Crusades not spread syphilis through Western Europe, with the result that the prevalent bodily ailments and the impairment of physical fitness of more than half the population of Western Europe are directly attributable to the effects of this ailment, from which few people are exempt: truly the sins of the fathers, perhaps very remote grandfathers, have been visited upon, not the third and fourth, but upon the thirtieth and fortieth generations. It may be shocking to the delicate senses of the moralists, but syphilis has played a larger part in retarding civilization than all the saints have accomplished in advancing it. Every doctor, silently but definitely, considers it as a possibility in the diagnosis of every patient and the Wassermann test has become a part of the examination for fitness in great business organizations, which approach the selection of employees from a scientific standpoint.

There is a tragic potency to sex. It has motivated poetry and painting, music and devotion; but it has also been the root of wars, oppression, intrigue, disaster and disease. Millions of men and women have gone to cruel deaths solely to satisfy the mad desires of sexually minded rulers. It has been warped into the forms of religion; it has been disguised under the pretty name of love.

We hold up our hands in holy horror if it be mentioned in polite gatherings, in which few of those present will fail surreptitiously or otherwise to get a secret delight out of the mere suggestiveness of the conversation. The frankness of the present generation on the subject will work immediate havoc on its members and cloud many a future home, but that frankness will go far towards replacing hypocrisy by honesty in dealings with this extremely difficult matter.

It is obvious that the Supreme Power had to devise an overpowering desire if the human race was to go on, and, perhaps, nothing is more important to human progress than setting ourselves right as to this immeasurable force.

In the first place, the general welfare of mankind depends on the continued production of physically sound and mentally balanced human beings. Sex perversion or ignorance can prevent either or both; and unhealthy minds and bodies preclude, to a degree more than is realized, wholesome and happy lives.

It is far less important in the matter of sexual intercourse whether human beings have, according to accepted social standards, the right to be together, than that they be each physically fit, morally balanced and mentally attuned. The vast majority of divorces result from ignorance, neglect, or perversion of the sexual relation.

Sex is a force not to be trifled with: if there is one place in nature where it must be left to take its ordained course it is here. Yet man has meddled with it from the time he discovered it: such, perhaps, is a meaning of the allegory of Adam and Eve. The church has interfered, with selfish or stupid motives: selfish because propagation meant congregations; stupid, because being impotent, through its own ineptitude and hypocrisy, to spiritualize the sexual relation, as it should be, it has attempted to control and direct it by fear of future damnation and identifying it with the soul's salvation. Law has misdirected this force by confusing vice with sin, and sin with that missing of the mark, we here call *amartian*. It is a very old truism that we can not legislate morality.

Trifling with sex is to lie about the Creator, to sabotage his works and to pervert the destiny of man. To confuse it with social convention and so-called morality is disastrous. We must first of all seek a common viewpoint of the matter. What immeasurable barriers laid between the cultured woman who chided the son of an old retainer for not marrying and having a family as his old mother wished, and his answer that he had tried so hard to get married, he had lived with three women and had a child by each, and yet he could not find himself happy very long, and so he could not marry. What a great divide there is between the sheltered woman of refined New England family and the café girls of Paris or the street walkers of London or the Lesbians of Berlin. How impossible seems a common viewpoint between the broad-brimmed Western cowboy astride his pony and the bereted gigolo lolling against the sea wall at Nice. How completely antagonistic the nature of that sweet white-haired grandmother of yours and the bedizened woman of equal age who cuts in half a thousand franc note, won at the tables of Monte Carlo and gives the second half to her gigolo only at a later date stipulated in advance. What contrast lies between the family of Burns' Scotch farmers, and a family of three, in which the mother is notoriously addicted to intimate relations with women, in which the father satisfies his desires with girls in their teens or extraordinary young women of maturer years; and where the adult daughter leaves an infant offspring to meet with bar-maids! What difference in community opinion where police ordinances prohibit parking and spooning on a public bridge and another city where men of queer instincts are licensed to wear women's clothes and solicit men on the streets and live with women in their dormitories. What incredible departure of body, mind, and morals, between the simple devoted parents and their children taking a Sunday afternoon stroll along the quiet banks of a little river, and other parents not together, naked and wearing masks in a chamber of queer devices designed to aid the horrible excitement of the sadist or masochist? What strange contrast between the bar-room of the Western frontiers, with its gun play, hard liquor and gambling, and those cafés and dance halls, where sex desires are so "delicately" catered to, that in the one, only men that live with men, and in others only women that live with women, and in between, others graded to a percentage 25, 50 or 100 per cent manhood and womanhood.

These contrasts suggest unpleasant, vicious, sordid things, but they must be dealt with frankly and intelligently, if the human race is to attain true and substantial happiness. Modern science is not content to do the best it can for the plague-stricken victim in a typhoid or yellow fever epidemic, it looks to the sanitation of the community, it cleans out marshes, and it chlorides polluted streams.

How are these sex problems to be dealt with except out of public opinion? How are innocent children and the youth of our day to escape their weird enticement if they are to remain as sewers of human filth? How are we to give human nature a chance to be natural and pure if these things are not publicly known; if we do not abandon our abominable religious hypocrisy about sex; scrap our polite and lying social pretenses, and come to a realization that the problem finds its roots in an unjust economic system and its growth and spread from psychopathic conditions created by an unjust economic system? Sex perversion ordinarily results from either the despair or the hopelessness of true idealism and ambition; or from the satiety of jaded appetites out of the lack of occupation and the limitlessness of luxury; if we omit the mentally diseased.

The first affects the great majority; the second, the élite minority. Give every man and woman the sense of worthwhileness of their own lives and these pitiable perversions will cease; give economic security to the family and the home, and men and women will respond to natural impulses in a natural way; give recognition to artistic longings and the opportunity to satisfy them and we shall not find the hunger seeking to satisfy itself on bodies of the same sex; in short, give life motives and each man and woman conviction that living normally they can find true and substantial happiness in a just world, and they will no longer "quaff the kind Nepenthe" of narcotics or perverted sex. Were it possible to make a census of the men and woman who *have missed the mark* in the natural and holy matters of sex relationship, we should almost certainly find: first, that a vastly higher percentage of women suffer from sexual disturbances and seek to relieve it by irregularities, than we have any notion of; we should find an amazingly high percentage of perverted relations between men; unspeakably shocking as it may seem we should find in many, many cases, at least in certain parts of the world, and not confined to any country, horrible sexual relations between parent and child, brother and sister; we should find countless men and women of fine qualities and genius as helpless under the sway of sex as the smokers of opium, who have left behind them home, position, love, children, respect, and high and promising achievement; but we would also find in practically every instance the origin not in perversions of nature, but in perversions of natural justice, through man-made laws, religious precepts, false social conventions, all in the end having their origin in a schematic system for the exploitation of the many for the satisfaction of the few. Let him who will, challenge this statement and demand the proof. It is so clear that it must be so. Did the Creator of man and this glorious world of nature let his hand slip when he created man and woman, to make them sexually perverted creatures, the like of which exists nowhere else in the natural world? If this be so, let us curse God and die; but it is not so, and in the heart of every human being it is known not to be so, and it is as well known that we have let the race move on to madness, because like naughty children we found a sensual thrill in trifling with sex.

There is an amazing absurdity in our methods of dealing with sex, especially in the development of children, divorce laws and police regulations. By its very nature, to serve its God-given cause, sexual impulse must be irresistible. Nevertheless we proceed with our midget minds to prohibit it, except under prescribed conditions.

It is as ridiculous as to take out an injunction against a West Indian hurricane or to build a water gate atop Niagara Falls. Ships must be built to weather hurricanes and the rush of great waters diverted into useful channels. We shall build stout enough human ships to weather hurricanes only when all little children can have proper care, medical supervision, diet, enough food, vitamins, glandular control and sunshine; when youth can hope to attain the sweet longings which come out of "the long, long thought" of a boy and girl; when young men and women can marry their mates and not have to wait until salary is increased or enough saved to buy furniture or a little home; when mature people can live as husband and wife without the haunting fear of a lost job, unafforded doctor's bills, defaulted insurance, dispossess proceedings, and with a reasonable amount of time for companionship outside the kitchen at meal times, and a reasonable amount of pleasure and relaxation, outside the bedroom, when the baby is asleep.

After all it is not so difficult to find a common viewpoint and a solution of these sex problems. It is necessary only to create decent community conditions under an economic system, so there is certainty of employment, wholesome habitation and reasonable opportunity occasionally to play. Then we shall not have any of us to decide morals for any of the rest of us; nature will take its course, perversion and prostitution will cease, because no longer desired or thought to be needed, and the fineness of the individual soul will determine for itself whether sexual intercourse is the satisfaction of an appetite or a holy sacrament of creation; and that will be as much the private business of the individuals affected as their confessions and their prayers.

It is almost too bad that we have not the Homeric conviction that gods sat around Olympus and discussed the conduct of mortal men. If there were such a symposium of wise gods, to them at least would be clear, the reasons which now threaten the foundation of all society: the home. To them at least, it would be clear that the most damnable influence in private life today is the half-baked misinformation and partial truths which pass for education and intellectuality. There were some truths, which were true, to which our parents and grandparents could anchor life. Today there are none; every débutante is a psychoanalyst; every society leader, a sociologist; every customer's man an economist; every doctor is a psychologist; every clergyman a philosopher. Every one with even part of a high school education knows all about complexes; the average man, woman, and youth is an expert on life; they know all about motors and motives; all about sex and psychology; and nothing about life, truth and justice.

It may seem a far call from sinister iniquities at tennis tournaments to revolutions in politics, yet it is startling that we find common causes and common cures for these strangely different occurrences. The same basic causes which pervert the physical natures of men and women individually, result also in the perversion of community life for the masses. Neither the individual nor the community lives or is permitted to live naturally. To live naturally by no means is to live licentiously and without restraint; but it is to live without artificial restraint or distortions of life designed to warp it into unnatural shape. The ancient practice of wrenching the bodies of little children into "fantastics" for the delight of their rulers is only a more graphic distortion, than to so house and environ a slum-born baby that it must in all human probability become a gunman or a prostitute.

There is a simple but difficult underlying truth which we must here perceive. It is commonly said, you cannot change human nature; granted, and the last thing we should seek to do is to change it. What we must do is to give every human being the right to be well born, decently brought up, adequately educated and *not* to change his nature, but to give him the chance to live according to his nature: if then he fails to make for himself a wholesome life or to find true and substantial happiness, he must be left to that higher power which alone creates souls. There is a very definite partnership between man and God. God says to man, at your will uncontrolled by me, you may create life where and when you will; but creating it, you must see that it has a true chance to live; I alone can make the soul of your offspring of flesh, and be responsible for it, so I command that you create strong, healthy men and women and provide that they shall so live, for to your creation and your care of your own creation I must entrust My creation, the human soul.

It is so often said cynically to the young who would reform the world, alas, you will learn that you can't change men and women. It is one of the most vicious forms of adult mischief. Though we must tell our young folk they cannot change human nature, let us tell them they can and must change the world in which men and women live. This is not "Zukunft-musik", as the Germans call it, music of the future, it is the doable thing of the moment.

As well let us abandon our cynicism about human happiness, though we ourselves may not have known it. There is a fine line in a French play, the response of an unfortunate woman to the question, is there such a thing as human happiness—"but I have seen it pass by." There is the point, we live in a world where happiness *is,* but it too often passes by because of man's stupid notions about exploiting his fellowman.

And well, too, let us perceive that to make human happiness a thing of the now and not future music, we must reach it through the mind. The world should be forever through with revolutions, except revolutions of the mind and spirit. These are so vastly more potent, and whether it be sex perversion or economic injustice, as soon as all of us can find a way of expressing to each other by words and in action, the natural wholesomeness, the sound intelligence and the fundamental sense of justice in every man and woman, we shall find achieved with amazing ease and speed the dawn of the day when God Almighty can entrust the soul of His creation to any human body, assured that it will live in a natural and just and happy world.

But just as we found that those who are today seeking to destroy religion and make a god of economics, have, because of their confusion of organized religion with true religion, sound grounds for detesting it and plotting its annihilation; so, too, of the family, if we confuse the true sense of the word with inherited privilege and social caste. How can it be otherwise as the masses hear of the pampered son of a millionaire, indulging his sadistic nature in flaying a naked actress, cold-bloodedly shooting a rival and going scot-free by the scheme of breaking out of the insane asylum with the aid of an ex-convict and staying out of both prison and the insane asylum by the help of clever lawyers and a weak, if not corrupt judge, through the legerdemain of *habeas corpus,* which our ancestors gained with their blood from King John, in one of the historic victories against tyranny. It inflames even the trained and tempered mind, not to mention the ignorant and oppressed, to find a lad who has sported over the universe, wrecking women, and morals of his servants and companions, by the accident of death, come into possession of hundreds of millions, the beginning of which was accumulated by political corruption. The conservative, calm and reasonable mind cannot satisfy itself that it is just for a multi-millionaire, however estimable his own character, to be cruising on his yacht in the South Seas from the collection of rents from slums, where little children are born, in the range of the gunman's bullets, to damnation, and to die for want of fresh air and sunshine, because a not remote grandfather capitalized the unearned increment of the growth of a great city. Even the most easy going fellow, who never thinks of the other fellow, wonders how it can justly come about that with a hundred families huddled into an unsanitary, half windowless tenement, an open space worth a million dollars is kept free and cared for by an attendant so a poodle dog of an ancient lady may take the air, all because her grandfather would never sell a piece of land he bought, and so endowed her, without a stroke of labor in her lifetime, with multiple millions. Only the pulpit logician can justify a church accepting property, rented for houses of assignation, so that the income shall increase the expenditures of the church for Christian charity.

Yet like the socialist who believed in socialism, as to everything but goats because he had two goats, most of us shudder at the outrage of unbridled inheritance, but howl with horror at the thought that we should not have the right to leave to our children all we can get and accumulate in our lifetime. Economic justice and human happiness or even the chance to secure it, cannot come to the great majority until this vicious fiction of inheritance is dealt with. The greatest obstacle in establishing any true economic system and decent social order lies here. Limiting the right of inheritance does not mean disregarding the natural desires of parents to provide for their children, a husband for his wife, brother for sister and vice versa, and children for their parents. It does mean stopping any man from endowing others born and unborn as social parasites, who will live on the sweat of other men's brows. Incidentally, the change may make healthy useful creatures out of the parasites, and, at least, prevent their future propagation.

It must strike any true economist as an enormity of great meance that at this moment, forty per cent of the American wealth is controlled as the result of inheritance, by women of what is called the leisure class, and many of whom thoroughly and consistently live up to the traditions of the class.

As is herein repeatedly accepted as axiomatic, no social order or economic system, presently attainable, can be erected upon a supposition that it is going to be built by or with men or women of different natures than those we now know, or by more perfect or less selfish human beings.

The existing governmental "isms" of the world are doomed; it is simply a question of how soon and this applies to socialism, communism, sovietism and fascism. The first two, communism and socialism, because men differ in ability, expect a legitimate differentiation in their rewards and will not be cut, like two by fours, all to the same length however fine and tall and stately may be the tree. The third, sovietism, will pass for this reason, and as well, its ridiculous attempt to abolish God and the family; the fourth, fascism, because no considerable section of the human race will permanently permit itself to be treated as nincompoops or inmates of an orphan asylum, dressed in the same clothes and told what to eat, how and when to work and even what to think.

A sane and sound social order and economic system will recognize and accept the competitive nature and pride of accomplishment in the average man; it will recognize and accept the universal need of man for a God and religion; it will recognize and accept patriotism and love of country as perhaps the only surviving noble and unselfish instinct of the human race, except mother love; it will recognize and accept the desire of every human to individualize him or her self from the mass; it will recognize and accept the family and blood ties, as unchangeable facts of human existence; and it will do nothing to cramp, much less destroy, these human attributes which God has wrought.

But just as it will not let man's competitive spirit be degraded into legal or illicit robbery; just as it will not let religion put men in fear or the darkness of superstition; just as it will not let individualization destroy the same right for others; just as it will not let patriotism reduce to "Schrecklichkeit" and wars of aggression; so it will not let family pride or paternal love compel the continuance of a legal fiction whereby the innocent babe is doomed to death, disease or crime, in order that another infant may live without work on the fat of the land, often destroying his own best nature and ruining many others.

It is further to be considered in this matter of inheritance that were we to abolish it completely, it would affect a very small part of the population. Only those are concerned in maintaining this ancient and obsolete fiction, who have something to leave to heirs and next of kin and those who are the heirs and next of kin of people who have something to leave. Now, the essence of all democracy is the greatest good for the greatest number and the few must surrender that which will tend to make for the happiness of the great majority; we have all expressly or impliedly sworn allegiance to this, as our creed of political faith and have accepted the benefit of it. We cannot affirm and take the benefits and seek to escape the individual disadvantage by denying our faith. Such is not "playing cricket" as the English say, or being a "good sport" in our slang.

Now there can be not the slightest doubt that the vast majority would be benefited, if no inheritance were permitted, for then all fortunes would, on death of the makers, go to the state, and we should pay less taxes, lower rents, have finer schools, better roads, more efficient hospitals and cheaper light and transit. In order to sell insurance, the great corporations engaged therein tell us that 85% of the surviving men, when they pass the age of 65 are dependent upon their relatives or charity. So it would seem that an economic system, based on inheritance is obviously set up for a very small privileged minority, and that for approximately nine people out of ten, they could not be worse off and would be infinitely better off, if no one was permitted to leave anything, although it is not necessary to go that far to correct conditions, whereby we are told 10% of the nation owns 90% of its wealth; 2% of its families get 25% of the national income; 1% of the population owns 70% of all corporations; and 43% of the profit from labor and national resources go to owners of land and capital, while a quarter of the working class live in slums or hovels, and complete unemployment is the portion of eighty million of their numbers.

The body politic and the social order are not unlike the human body in that an entire series of apparently unrelated ills may originate in a single cause, such as pus-pockets under molars, infected tonsils, a diseased appendix or a torpid liver. It is, of course, very easy for one to first form an opinion as to a cause and relate every want and woe of humanity to it. This is amusingly illustrated by the diversity of societies for the propagation of ideas, and were we to believe all we read, we should wonder whether it was the absence of enough bran in bread or brandy in bottles, which truly accounts for our unhappy state, not to mention a thousand philosophic, religious and ethical notions on the subject. Nevertheless, there is no departure from historical fact or logical reasoning, when we find even the so-called divorce evil a direct result of the capitalistic system. It is true that domestic bliss and happiness ruled generally among our grandparents, and that they lived under capitalism. Such is a legitimate argument, but it must be observed that the advance or decay of capitalism, as you will, in their day had not produced conditions which come very close to making a normal, peaceful, progressive family relation the exception and not the rule in our time. By its achievements, capitalism created and distributed luxuries, developed taste for nice things and inspired the "go-getter" attitude, none of which are to be criticized or condemned. Naturally the spirit spread to both sexes, with the result that a good many "champagne tastes" were developed when the capitalistic system permitted only a "beer pocketbook". Now all this talk about a man being naturally polygamous is not borne out by the facts, and even a casual study of history will show that marital practices and standards result from economic causes or requirements. It is reported, for instance, that the women of certain Esquimaux tribes demand polygamy in order to distribute and reduce their domestic drudgery.

Barring the temporary excitement aroused by liquor, lascivious literature or art, and the "gang" spirit of what have been termed "moral vacations", most men and women would rather live with one person of the opposite sex, than a dozen, provided they could live in comfort, harmony and security. Capitalism very often, in the majority of cases, fails to provide comfort; observe the mother of half a dozen young children, trying to look after them all, do the housework and the laundry, and make their clothes. Again capitalism, by its artificial barriers of wealth and economic class distinction, is very often, if not in the vast majority of cases, responsible for bad mating, because it can not be based on natural selection. And finally, capitalism never provides security for the great majority, either from wars, financial depressions, unemployment and the other things of which the average man and woman lives in dread.

Domestic unhappiness is bound to result where there can be no certainty of creature comfort, natural selection and harmony of properly matched personalities and ever present the pervading fears of multiple dangers and sense of insecurity.

It is unfortunately true that capitalism has exploited marriage and the home, as it has religion and patriotism. There is, however, no creditable proof that in our times it goes as far as is sometimes recklessly asserted. Undoubtedly the great corporations do encourage marriage to reduce labor turnover and to insure a higher standard of moral responsibility but this is, under existing conditions, defensible, as is probably the strict adherence to social register marriages by the ruling classes, as long as our false economic base necessarily creates false social distinctions.

The "divorce-evil" is not a religious or moral question. People will not be good under conditions which cause nature to revolt. The hard-working father who goes home to a crowded, odorful, disordered flat with a clutter of children and diapers, will sneak off sometimes and satisfy his normal desires for beauty and contentment. That hard-working mother does not even have the opportunity and is, perhaps, the commonest and most patient victim of capitalism. The high-spirited girl who loves little luxuries will cheat, when that promising, ambitious lad of hers finds himself out of a job and without the wherewithal even to take her to the "movies". The divorce-evil in high society makes "good copy" for the press, but has very little significance, economically, socially or morally. It is a part of the decadence of capitalism, like an ulcerated tooth, caused by the receding gums of social pyorrhoea, produced by eating too many soft foods. What is significant, is the fact that by its own vices, weakness and unsoundness, capitalism makes domestic relations for the great majority unhappy and uncertain, and at definite points deliberately exploits it, as a necessary part of the maintenance of its fundamental doctrine: monopoly of natural resources, artificial inheritance and corporate monopoly and exploitation.

The great blunder of capitalism is here again revealed: its greed has caused it to encroach where it had no business. Its essential motif is competition and exploitation. There are departments of human life, which should have been kept sacred from the competitive spirit and exploitation: religion, patriotism and the relations of the sexes are among them. We have learned politically to separate the church and state, to keep or attempt to keep politics out of the public schools. We have learned socially to avoid miscegenation of the races. And where necessary, we have occasionally accepted the principle that certain things can not properly be exploited; for instance, in ancient England, certain kinds of timber could not be cut and in our own country we have sought to conserve certain places of beauty and natural resource against commercial exploitation. But generally we have failed in this: instead of putting up barriers against capitalism, we have permitted capitalism to put up barriers against nature.

It will make little difference, in correcting this great error of the past and tragedy of the present, if we accomplish it by modifying and restricting capitalism, or formulate a new system, whether it be called as herein suggested or not; by any other, it will be as sweet. As we have repeatedly observed, capitalism has some great truths in its creed; what it lacked was self-control in its greed. We must, therefore, now establish that control.

Perhaps the most inspiring fact of our day is the dawning ability of the great majority to assert and intelligently administer that control. In the previous experiences of civilization when exploitation and oppression have overreached themselves, they have been met by violence and bloodshed, because the masses knew no better way. In short the pendulum of human error and resentment has swung from one extreme to the other, which has materially delayed human progress by reducing to occasional interludes the periods of progress, when, as it were, humanity managed to stick in the middle of the road.

The Christian era of two thousand years can be divided, like ancient Gaul, into three parts—church domination, feudal domination and capitalistic domination. The same phenomena have attended the beginning and end of each division. A disorganized, heartbroken, oppressed world accepted Christianity, not as a religious faith or because of any spiritual conviction, but because it was used as a core about which strong men moulded an organization, giving promise of order and security to a disordered and distrait world. The church organization overreached itself, converted power into oppression, came to its doom, to be replaced by feudalism. The same phenomenon attended the beginning and end of feudalism. When it began, about a thousand years ago, one authority says of Europe "most people were so unhappy that they welcomed the prophecy foretelling the approaching end of the world and rushed to the monasteries, that the day of judgment might find them engaged upon devout duties." Strong men took hold, and feudalism with a powerful hand and fairly intelligent leadership, reorganized a despairing Western World and brought a modicum of security and happiness. Again the story is told of greed and overreaching selfishness; the decadence of feudalism lost its following and public confidence, and the money-lending merchants of the walled cities gained the ascendancy. Thus capitalism, as we know it, the money-power or "money-bund," as it is dubbed for popular consumption, took hold of human affairs. Priestcraft gave way to military craft, military craft yielded to money craft. Now, through it all, there has been one constant factor, deluding the masses by new hopes, then loading them with new burdens; relieving the peculiar oppression which destroyed the preceding system, replacing it with a newly devised scheme, whereby the few should still live at the expense of the many, the powerful by exploiting the weak, the wealthy by monopolizing natural resources, establishing inherited fortunes and aggregating capital into the fewest possible hands.

Now it is a sad but true fact, that education, culture and true religion have had no perceptible influence in controlling any of these systems which were fundamentally savage, yet religion, education and culture have played a tremendous part in those cataclysmic movements which have exterminated one system to make place for another. Aware of this, each system has insidiously reached out to control these forces, and a tragedy of the human race has been that in every instance they were successful. What should have been the controlling influences in civilization have been the most submissive. Nevertheless they have been the undertone, or should we say, overtone of progress, and, in due time, we may hope to see these become the dominant notes of the future. Humanity, if we mean the great majority, have been outraged by each succeeding system; it it hard to say by which it has suffered the greater cruelties and hardships. We can say today what was said of the world when feudalism replaced the church, and perhaps the very miseries we now endure are the inevitable precursors of a monumental change in the organization of human affairs. Never in world history has there been sounder reason to believe that the approaching changes can raise humanity to a plane of security, peace and justice it has never known, and that the second millennium of the Christian era can bring us closer than the world has ever been to the imperishable ideals of its Founder.

CHAPTER V

SELF-RESPECT

A MAN must be proud or no one will be proud of him. He should be proud because, whether fashioned in God's image or not, he is the noblest creation of His handiwork. Self-abnegation is a virtue only as it gives a man a true perspective: he is important to himself, he is of little or no importance to the world, beyond the little group of family or dependents for which he functions as a breadwinner. Pride is a vastly different thing than conceit; one makes a man, the other, an ass.

A man should be proud of his body and his mind, but never of his soul; for pride will stimulate him to build and take care of his body, at least as carefully as of his tools or his golf-clubs, and to cultivate his mind; but the soul is a thing of the spirit and the spirit comes into being through a power outside ourselves, save as we so live as to make ourselves receptive to it, "tuned in", as it were, to the spiritual waves which surround us, as a radio is attuned to the music of which we now know the air is full. In this matter of the faith of humankind, there is no such difficulty of belief as there was for our grandparents. Every advance of science now clearly demonstrates the existence of a higher power and a spiritual world; we now know that the music of the herdsman's horn on the Alpine mountain goes round the world; it is just a question of being tuned in to hear it. It is today more difficult *not* to believe in a spiritual world and eternal life, than it is to believe in them.

The perversion of Christianity has done more to destroy man's self-respect than any other single force in civilization. The promoters and exploiters of this faith have for ulterior motives intentionally broken the spirit of men and women by portraying Christ "as a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief", by using the crucifix as a trade mark, by teaching their children in hymns to sing about "such a worm as I." Man is not a worm, he is the noblest work of God, has a right to be proud, and if we can attribute human qualities to the Higher Power, God Almighty is proud of him. Stamping man with an inferiority complex is a complete perversion of religion and has been done to enslave him to organized religion and keep him from revolting against the economic injustices which oppressed him and the Church of England and the unofficial Church of Scotland have been the chief offenders. There has always been an illicit partnership between the church and the despot, between religious systems and capitalistic exploitation of the masses, which could work successfully only by "selling" the great majority the idea that they were worms and the more they were stepped on, crushed and suffered, the surer they were of a heavenly reward. It may be strong and inappropriate language, but it will be understood: away with heaven, if that is what heaven is for.

The self-inflicted tortures which pagan spirit worshippers indulge in and their cruel rites are no more ignorant and differ only in degree from the ideas propagated most conspicuously by two branches of organized Christianity in America, namely, that one must be unhappy to be good;

and that it is my business to interfere with what makes you happy. The inevitable result has been hypocrisy, deceit, sex perversion, excessive use of liquor, public gambling, especially in horse-racing and stock market shares, extravagance, profligacy, divorce, abandoned and illegitimate children; everything from reckless driving to reckless living, on a scale the world has never known, which have so broken the natural morale, that we lack courage to face, with every resource at our command, boldly an economic depression and come out of it, at a crisis in civilization's history.

A great deal of human suffering and unhappiness would be avoided, far more than one would suppose until he visualizes the principle in operation, if there could be drummed into every man, woman and child, from their tenderest years, a sense of pride in themselves. Not pride of possession, pride of ancestry, or what is commonly known as Scotch pride; in fact there should be pride in nothing with which we are endowed or which comes from others; pride should be limited to the fact that God Almighty has seen fit to make us His supreme creation, and to achievements we accomplish with the bodies and minds with which we are endowed. If a moral code is all the world needs, it can be put in thirteen words: *Be only that, do only that, of which you may justly be proud.*

The results of such a moral code would completely change the quality of our public service, the whole course of professional finance, the administration of justice, the conduct of learned professions, the character of music and the stage and commercial and social conduct generally. There are men and women and enterprises which so conduct themselves, because they have a true sense of values and a true sense of pride.

The results would show themselves in such respects as these: no politician would seek or put another in a public office for which he was not fitted, and we should not have a political boss say after he had accomplished the nomination of an unfit man for high public office, that it was the dirtiest day's work of his life; no financier would, by organized "short sales", break the morale of his country in a financial crisis; no judge could put on the ermine who knew himself unfit to pass judgment on his fellow men; no lawyer would accept employment to hinder, obstruct, or delay justice; no physician would control his service by the pocket-book of the patient; no artist would lend his talents to bestial music or demoralizing plays; no merchant or tradesman would, by high pressure advertising and too liberal credit and installment plans, hypnotize customers into buying more than they could afford to purchase, or sell them merchandise by misrepresentation; and no manufacturer would produce shoddy goods without informing his purchaser that it was not what it looked like; and, not to leave out woman's end of things, ostensible friendships and social relations and entertainment would not be based on a desire to be patronized or to be sycophantly followed. Many more striking changes in our daily life would follow and it would be a very decent world to live in, regardless of all other matters, even patriotism, religion and home life, if men and women would adhere to the simple mandate: *Be only that, do only that, of which you may justly be proud.*

If any one doubts the efficacy of the formula, let him or her try it for a week and see how many things he or she will not do, which otherwise would have been done, or do those things in a very different way and in a very different spirit than at present.

Such a rule generally followed would do all that we may hope for in human improvement in our time; it will be asked, then, is it not enough to instill this rule into daily life and stop there in talk of reforming things? It would be, but such a rule is not the first step to helping man find the way to true and substantial happiness. It is, in fact, no step at all. It is the end of all the steps we shall have to take, for the human race must have advanced a long way from where it now is to be willing or to be able to be and do only that of which one may justly be proud. We can build ourselves and our fellow men up to that stage only through right thinking and true viewpoint, as to the place in every life of religion, patriotism, home and justice; and only when we have broken down and rid ourselves of those artificial infringements on the laws of God which have barred man from his heritage, to live happily unto himself and with his fellow men.

Self-respect, balance, health of mind and body, and achievement are reached through self-imposed standards of living, not statistics. Vitamins do not make men and vanishing creams do not make women. We have gone mad on supposedly scientific data, charts, graphs and other misinformation. One would think from modern advertising and commercial propaganda, all that a mother need be is an expert in chemistry and all that childhood needs is scientific feeding; that all a young man needs to equip himself for business is to read this or that set of books, or take this or that correspondence course; that all our girls need know to qualify for matrimony is how to avoid halitosis, body odor and paralyzed pores. No one objects to advertising and propaganda, if it is not false in fact or perfidious in guiding those who accept it. The vice is by no means limited to commercial activities, where one can accord a certain license of avarice; it is a repeated fault of reformers, uplifters, politicians, statesmen, government agencies and professional Pollyannas and prophets of woe. If there is one thing more vital to human happiness than all and everything else, it is the truth. No one who has spent even a novitiate in law, business, banking, politics or international affairs can escape the soul-sinking realization that nothing is easier than to lie by telling the truth. A great leader of a great church, a philanthropist of national repute, has throughout life acted on the principle, always to tell the truth, but not all of it. Such seems to be the nearest approach we can come to an average standard of honesty. It has spelt, it will spell misery for mankind. Not one person in a thousand can think honestly, much less act so. Were this an inborn instinct of man it would be tragic; because it is not, it is merely irksome. It is simply something that must be gotten over. And getting over it must begin in high places. In diplomacy and international affairs, as presently conducted, it is incurable. But governments can and must stop giving out lies in the form of statistically true statements, either to inflate prosperity or to conceal adversity. The financial world can and must stop misrepresenting securities by statistically correct statements and deceiving the public about its practices through concealing part of the facts. Reformers and agitators can and must be prevented from using truthful figures with which to lie. The administration of law must be conducted in accordance with principles, not with resolutions of bar associations, which are entirely correct and totally false. Grand ladies and great business must not pretend that effulgent testimonials are the spontaneous recognition of merit and not carefully bartered and paid for.

Nothing can be more deceitful than figures especially in the hands of an expert accountant or statistician. Nothing can harm the community or a people more than misleading public information. Nothing can more quickly demoralize the great majority than the wrong kind of advertising and publicity propaganda.

To illustrate: the statement is made by a government department that the cost of living has gone down nine per cent and a fraction; but the public must find out elsewhere that there has been simultaneously nearly twice as heavy a drop in incomes.

Bonds are sold by great bankers, on the representation that the foreign loan involved has been approved by the United States Department of State; but the public must find out elsewhere that such approval has nothing to do with the safety or security of the loan.

A food product is sold on the promise that it conforms to be a Pure Food and Drug Law, but the public must find out elsewhere that this is no guarantee that it is not adulterated.

The statistical effort to measure and control life by mathematical formulas hides within it the fundamental vice of socialism. It destroys individuality and submerges ambition. A time clock may reveal a hundred per cent record for a clerical employee: but it can not record, that he or she is so slothful, indifferent and committed to the gayety of these days of "kick" and sensation, that when that time clock is punched, he is unshaved and her bob is uncombed, and neither of them have had breakfast, but will later sneak out to drug counters for a muffin and cup of coffee; in short, that neither of them has enough self-respect or interest in the job, to go to bed on time or to get up on time, or to come to the shop or office sufficiently "fueled" for the morning's work. It would shock these young people to tell them they were stealing from their employer; perhaps he is stealing from them in another way, but that only makes a vicious circle out of the whole business; not the least important of which is, that the true and faithful employee loses heart and asks what is the use?

Life can not be formulated into vitamins, plus actinic rays, plus so-called education, plus a job and marriage. No ship sails itself, however stout or graceful the ship. It must be steered. In childhood our lives are steered from without, parental love guides us, just as an airplane may be guided by near or distant electrical impulses. At maturity we must steer ourselves. We can not do that successfully by relying on statistics, prepared by other people, or rules of conduct formulated by other people, least of all by ideas which other people try to sell us, usually with some ulterior motive, without telling us the whole truth. Until the world gets honest, we have to find truth for ourselves, for the nearest we will come to it in relying on others is half way, and nothing is more dangerous than a half truth—the law recognizes this and in dealing with fraud adheres to the maxim that the suppression of any part of the truth is equivalent to the suggestion of the false.

The first step to self-respect is then, necessarily, self-reliance. We must find for ourselves the truth about faith, country, sex, business, and about ourselves.

No ship owner trusts his ship to statistics or formulas. He knows that, with all the charts and information on earth, that vessel of his must be commanded by a captain, who has learned more from his contact with the sea than all that has ever been written about it. Such in our own lives is the meaning of those famous lines of poetry:

It matters not how strait the gate
  How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate
  I am the captain of my soul.

It is strange that, barring necessity, no one will eat the leavings on another's plate or wear his discarded garments, yet a large part of the human race do precisely this with their own lives. They never think out anything or act on their own initiative or responsibility, unless driven to it by circumstances they can not control. Communities and whole peoples act the same way. An honest workman wonders why a judge's brother caught red-handed as the leader of a gang of robbers, escapes trial and punishment; so does every other honest working man in that town, but none of them has the gumption to make it his business to find out why. Millions ask how can it happen that a hundred million people can be plunged into poverty and deprived of any means of livelihood. But not one in a hundred thousand has trained himself to think it out or even to pretend to know what to do about it. Millions of parents ask what has happened to morals and our young people, and then look to some magazine article or radio broadcast to tell them why and what to do about it.

Now the conclusion of all this is very clear and very harsh. If the average man and woman will not learn to think and act for themselves, and make use of their God-given brains and judgment, then we must abandon this fair dream of democracy and go back to despotism, and hope to heaven it may prove benevolent, because we can not help ourselves.

So this matter of the self-respect and self-reliance of every one of us is in the aggregate of vast importance to ourselves, our families, our country and future generations. Every army code provides punishment for malingering, and many a man in the Great War shot off his own fingers or toes to be hospitaled back and permanently relieved from the trenches. Ibsen's Peer Gynt contains the highly dramatic picture of such a type of human being. We are all of us soldiers of the common good; it is our duty to be well in body, balanced in mind, clean in morals, self-respecting and self-reliant. Instead, the vast majority of us are guilty, intentionally or otherwise, of malingering; we render ourselves unfit soldiers, and live our lives conscious of our own cowardice and despising our own weakness. God made us to be good soldiers; we make ourselves crippled noncombatants in His great battle for the happiness of man.

In the adjustment of men and women to the world they live in, it is tragic how little help and guidance is found in all that has been written and preached on the subject. To the inevitable question what is the aim of human existence, there come varying and totally conflicting answers from science, philosophy, and religion. Within the ranks of scientists, philosophers, and religionists, there are schisms and again irreconcilable differences. There are positivists, determinists, casualists and humanists, and innumerable further divisions of the groups. The average man can read but an infinitesimal part of all that has been written in answer to the question what is the aim of human life and will understand but a fraction of what he reads.

One ancient philosopher found that in his day there were nearly three hundred possible answers to the question of what is the chief end of man.

The religionist says to the average man that he shall live by faith alone.

The philosopher is apt to tell him that the end of life is virtue.

The scientist will perhaps tell him that he is swept along in the general evolution in which morality, virtue, and faith have no part.

Yet every man, woman, and child, as it approaches maturity, must find an answer to that question—why am I here, what am I here for?

As one peruses the vast accumulation of religious, philosophic and scientific discussion, it is hard to avoid the wish that more great thinkers had dealt less with theory and had realized that "the proper study of mankind is man".

If we turn from the discourses of the learned to, let us say, the early morning riders in a Manhattan subway train, and ask the question, what is the aim of your existence, we should probably find that the answers fell into but three forms: for some, the aim of their daily existence is their family; such was the answer of a great industrialist when asked why he drove himself so cruelly; for others, life means simply to crowd as much pleasure as possible into the span of their years; and, for others, it has reduced to the sodden desire just to get by. Ninety per cent of the answers would probably fall into one or the other of these forms.

Simply stated, they seem casual and superficial; actually they are the essence of long recognized schools of religious, philosophic and scientific thought; and to confute any one of them, much less all of them, involves a depth of learning, experience and contemplation, possessed of few men and women. To substitute for any one of them, much less for all of them, a new philosophy which will for all men and for all time answer the question of what is the aim of human existence, is and must ever remain impossible. We must let men seek their own happiness in their own way, and the limit of human thought and possible achievement is to produce an every day world in which every man has the equal opportunity and is free to seek his own true and substantial happiness as he sees it.

That in no way implies anarchy or license, for it is fixed in the nature of man that he can not find happiness in doing that which wrongs others. It may take centuries more, ere all men and women learn this, but learn it they must, and until they learn it, those who stupidly or recklessly seek happiness at the cost of the suffering of others must be controlled and disciplined by government and law.

The teachers of morals would do well to cast aside theories and devote themselves to the single task of bringing mankind to the realization that love of pleasure and the satisfaction of desires is not a true guide to existence and certain to fail as a means of attaining happiness. This should be taught to man as a demonstrable fact, not as a moral precept. It is a demonstrable fact. The wages of sin is death. Crime and punishment grow on the same tree. There is an unavoidable law of compensation, and in the language of the street, one can not do wrong and get away with it.

Misunderstood biological conclusions as to lower orders of being that what is pleasurable is good and painful is bad has no application to man. Likewise the narrow religious viewpoint that what is hard and painful is good for the soul, and what is sweet and pleasant leads to hell, is equally a false doctrine.

As one views modern life, it is little short of heartrending to observe how the search for sensations has become, in fact, the chief end of existence for so many men and women, young and old. It is expressed better in slang, as so many things are, than in elegant English: living to get a kick out of life; marrying to get a kick out of love; working to get a kick out of money; going into politics to get a kick out of power; accumulating fortunes to get a kick out of philanthropy; going into settlement work to get a kick out of charity; devoting life to a game to get a kick out of sport; becoming a churchman to get a kick out of religion; becoming a drunkard to get a kick out of alcohol; becoming a drug fiend to get a kick out of narcotics; becoming a Lesbian to get a kick out of sex; becoming a speculator to get a kick out of the stock market; becoming popular to get a kick out of society; reading or writing salacious books to get a kick out of literature; painting cubist pictures to get a kick out of art; leading popular movements to get a kick out of patriotism and so to the end of the chapter.

It is interesting to contrast what might be called this transitory modern post-war viewpoint with its equivalent in the days of our grandparents. In every age there are those who can not balance themselves or get adjusted to their environment. It is undoubtedly true that in no time in the world's history has such a high percentage of the human race in all countries been thus unbalanced as in our own day. The years between 1820 and 1930 were too crowded with mechanical and industrial advancement and cataclysmic political changes not to affect the world's sanity. There is then the striking contrast of percentage between our own and earlier days. But, what is, perhaps, more striking and truly amazing, is the difference of the expression of desperation. In the years covered by what we call the Victorian Age we find the desperation of the human soul expressing itself not in the hunger for more sensation, but in the desire for the surcease of all sensation—not to exhaust the thrill of life but to quaff the kind Nepenthe.

Now in these two viewpoints we have probably the manifestation of the results of the weary climb of present man from his primitive brute existence. As a brute he lived by following his sensations; it was his sole guide and for him survival lay largely in the satisfaction of his felt but uncomprehended desires. Those who survived were therefore the most sensual, but sensuality in the higher form of animal leads to exhaustion. It is inevitable that without varying ancestries some will inevitably reach that point of spiritual and physical depression as the result of their own natures, and we find it particularly in those of sensitive and emotional qualities. It is a natural concomitant of existence, and it is possible to explain a Shelley, a Keats or a Goethe. It is more difficult to explain the present general acceleration of sensuality in great masses of people. By sensuality is not meant sexual excesses, which is but one phase of the phenomenon, but rather this strange reduction of existence to a mere search for satisfaction of desires, whether mental or physical, and an utterly unbalanced demand for pleasure and excitement. It is perhaps the sequela of the stirring of dormant primitive instincts by the Great War. Whatever its cause it is a fact to be reckoned with in any and every effort to advance civilization in our day, and create a more just and wholesome world. It can not be preached out of people; it will wear off in time, perhaps a long time; it may be reasoned away in a much shorter time, if we can find voices which will be listened to by men and women who, because they have learned how much they have been deluded, hate fraud, hypocrisy, sophism and are more astute than all their forebears in detecting false doctrines and false prophets. Until the idea disappears that life means only a satisfaction of desire and a hunt for new or more thrilling sensations, the progress of civilization halts.

Not alone have the moralists an important duty in this regard, perhaps a still higher duty rests upon teachers and educators. A specialist has been defined as one who knows more and more about less and less; and a dilettante as one who knows less and less about more and more. Modern education is making dilettantes, and it is irksome beyond expression to hear the truths of science, philosophy and religion "twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools". There is not a phase of these great subjects, plus world politics, history, literature, art, sociology, economics, as well as all the other 'ologies and all the past, present and future of civilization, which is not completely, finally and authoritatively discoursed upon in any Greenwich Village restaurant, any college commons or any public library, not to mention numerous street corners and arcades. We are having an era of sensuality and sensation largely because we are worse than ignorant, we are half-baked. Our whole manner of thought illustrates how dangerous is a little learning. Figuratively speaking our educational system is so ordered that we let infantile minds range into higher mathematics before they can add, subtract, or divide.

Over against this unfortunate but transitory stage in human progress, let us place one of the great truths of life: man is of unlimited intellectual and spiritual capacity. Such being true, we shall right ourselves sooner or later and in this or a later generation find our balance and resume the course of civilization's advancement.

There may be no quicker way of reaching that balance than to drive in upon the average man and woman a realization of his and her unlimited capacity for achievement and true and substantial happiness, when life is in balance. Too much is said in our time of men and women working too hard. If we distinguish genuine work, with its intellectual exhilaration and pride of accomplishment, from mere drudgery and labor of Volga boatmen, then it is true that most men and women do not work hard enough. When a human being appears on the horizon who in art, music, industry, business, literature or other vocation, achieves in a lifetime what is rated the work of a superman or woman, we salve our own bad consciences and suppress our realization of how little we have done with our own talents, by praise and adulation of that genius. Every normal man and woman is a genius, capable of infinitely more than they even dare to dream of as their own accomplishment. The men and women we adulate are not geniuses, they are examples; they are not phenomena, any more than the Taj Mahal is a phenomenon; it is but an example of the attainable in architecture. So lives of truly great men and women are not supernatural and extraordinary: they are specimens of what may be done in the architecture of human careers.

Convinced of this men and women will not be content to accept as the end of their existence a satisfaction of the sensual desires of mind or body. It is true, scientifically, that life originated in a lump of fish jelly which subdivided and differentiated itself solely in response to external sensation. In a way it might be said that life started by a stirring of the sensations. But certainly it does not end there, and the seeking of pleasure and the satisfaction of desire is not the aim or end of man's existence. When in place of "chiseling" for coin and "cheating" for thrill, we substitute a gospel of work well-done and self-respect, we shall find a woeful world becoming a worth-while world.

The most difficult problem for most men and women is to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing environments of life, under the stress and strain of modern conditions. It is tragic how early the vast majority of people, consciously or otherwise, give up the effort. This is manifested in many ways, the significance of which is rarely sensed. There was once a well known soap advertisement which read that the first step away from self-respect was lack of care in personal cleanliness. This was advertising license but with a modicum of truth in it.

Man loses faith in himself, then in his fellow man, and then in his God. Demoralization starts from within; and usually it has taken its hold long before it is known to others. Man's most treacherous enemy is his own defeatism: woman's, her doubt of the validity of virtue. There can be but two sensible viewpoints of a human being's destiny: either he is the tragic victim of centuries of human error; or he is master of his own fate. It would be foreign to the truth to deny that in this sense many a child comes into the world damned by conditions and vices over which he had no control and the results of which are too strong for his will to overcome. It is, happily, equally true that the majority of men and women are born with the powers of will to control their own destiny.

These facts lead to three definite conclusions of true importance to daily existence: to man and woman is given the power of creation, and there is no equally persuasive reason for virtue in both sexes than the fact that their union can damn lives yet unborn, if it be based on physical, mental or spiritual decay. From a scientific standpoint, it may be fanciful and it may not, but there is a fine idealism in the belief, that the quality and fineness of a new-born soul is determined by the purity of body, mind and soul of the parents at the moment of conception.

A second fact is this, that the average man and woman has no one to blame but himself or herself, who fears to face life as it it. There are admittedly some who can not master life, but they are the minority. There are very few people who never had a chance, and the most perfect state of human equality and justice will not accomplish true and substantial happiness for those who will not use to the uttermost the qualities of the conqueror which lie in most human souls. The unhappiness of the human race has been attributable far more to brute stupidity than to moral depravity.

A third fact is this, that as in the life of a tree or a flower, there must be constant resistance to decay, so in the lives of humans there must be constant resistance to demoralization.

The strongest bulwark against demoralization is balance. It is idle to preach of self-control, for when one has reached a point of self-control, he has no longer the need to be preached at. All the skill of the most expert seaman will not insure the safety of a ship which must pass through storms, improperly loaded and short of ballast. Equilibrium was the dominant problem of aviation. Balance is the essential to wholesome existence.

Here is the most important duty of parenthood, or those who stand *in loco parentis*. Balance implies the true adjustment of body, mind, and spirit, for life is, as a great but little known writer has put it, a divine adventure of the Body, Will and Soul as they journey through the years together. It will avail nothing to organize human society upon true and just foundations, if man does not balance his own nature. A world of despotism and injustice may better fit the needs of an unbalanced human nature than a perfect state, in which unbalanced natures can with greater license indulge their excesses. Without the conviction that man has it in him to adjust into proper balance the elements of his own nature, it would be idle to strive to improve his environment or conditions of life. The sole reason for seeking a more just basis for human society lies in the fact, that given such conditions, men and women will be better able and more surely find it possible to balance themselves. In short, it will prevent the casualties and disasters which attend these efforts in a world where equality and economic justice do not in fact exist. But it will still remain for the individual man and woman to make of himself and herself a balanced, wholesome creature, just as today, with all we know of hygiene and physiology, it is still the task of each of us to keep well and healthy: it is easier than for our grandparents, but carelessness, lack of cleanliness, and physical excesses still produce illness, only it is no longer what might be called mass illness; plagues and epidemics have largely disappeared; but men and women still get sick, but it is frequently their own fault and not the result of contagion or infection.

Now in this matter of balancing one's self, apparently trifling things are of large importance. The best disciplined army in the world was made to "goose step" because "goose-stepping" had a direct result on the human frame and, as well, on the mind of the average soldier. Any intelligent physical culturist will tell you that the position of the chin at fifteen will determine the shape of the backbone and, to a considerable degree the state of health at fifty. Experts in the training of boys know that there is a direct connection between the elimination of the digestive tract and sexual desires. And some parents are wise enough to know that a lipstick at fourteen does not conduce to virginal modesty at eighteen.

Many a man has gone under because of some avoidable physical defect and "lack of the beef" to face some hard battle in life. A healthy body is of vital importance to self-confidence and a wholesome viewpoint of life. How many men at forty have not let themselves down? It is not necessary to live life as athletes at a training table, but it is necessary to respect the body and at least give it the same care and attention as a motor car, a saddle horse or a favored set of implements. An unshaved face at the office is a symbol of the beginning of moral decadence: either it means dissipation at night or slothfulness in the morning. The one sound argument for wars was that nothing quite equals the discipline of compulsory military training. Life should be led to the tempo of reveille in the morning, taps at night, and a flag-draped gun carriage at the end.

Many a woman has found herself an outcast, despised of herself and others, because she could not balance her bodily charm with her mind and soul. For one woman who sells her body for money, a thousand sell their bodies to satisfy an insatiable desire for masculine adulation and luxury. Nothing is so dangerous to womanhood as a contempt for virtue and the false philosophy "if others do it, why shouldn't I" and the next maxim in the steps to depravity "that a slice from a cut loaf makes no difference." We must make men and women from childhood up proud of their bodies, as the temples of their souls and the repositories of a power which challenges that of God Almighty—procreation.

Of the human mind, what shall be said in an era where for the average man and woman it never does the slightest original work; is, as it were, never exercised after high school years, except in learning the technique of a job or the intricacies of bridge or pinochle? Is it not clear that reading only daily journals, sex novels, and detective stories, and confining conversation and correspondence to gossip and small talk can result only in mental decay? Is it not equally clear in the triplex constitution of life, that to neglect body, or mind, or spirit, means that life has lost its balance, becomes thereby abnormal, and abnormality always means unhappiness?

Of the soul and spirit, as the third vital element of human existence, let it be said that is the private domain of every man and woman: it is the inherent right of every one of us to deal with that side of life as we see fit: suffice it to say that it is true today as it was two thousand years ago: what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

The concern of all of us, in each of the rest of us, is that no man, woman or child shall be prevented by what we do or the social and economic system we create, from attaining the utmost of which his or her nature is capable; that none of us shall put souls in the bodies of little children, with any handicap of our creation; and that each of us, in fulfilling our own destiny, shall not fail to accord the same right to all the rest of us.

Nothing is truer in prose and poetry than that

"To him who in the love of nature holds communion with her visible forms, she speaks a various language."

It is a language of extreme practicality as well as of beauty and poetry. Certainly we may all, in many respects, take a leaf from nature.

Perhaps one of the most useful lessons nature teaches, whether to the ordinary farmer or the scientifically equipped explorer of the jungle, is that the menace to health, property and happiness is not with so-called ferocious animals of forest or jungle, but with the miserable little animals and insects, sometimes microscopically small. A porcupine will do more damage than a bear; a beaver work more havoc than a wildcat; a tiny tick more death than a lion. Such is true in human affairs, and it will be found that the big, strong, venturesome brutes in man's jungle are not, in the last analysis, the enemies of human welfare to any such degree as the petty liars, cheats, hypocrites, scandal-mongers, blackmailers, extortionists, social parasites, and little "varmint" who creep on the ground, hide under mouldy trunks, and slink off like coyotes and skunks when discovered—the kinds of things that have no courage, no honor, and no code except to satisfy their own desires by trickery, deceit, and sycophancy, because they have not the stuff in them to hunt for themselves or live, except by getting under the skin of nobler animals, and sucking their blood; or stealing their kill or what they can snatch from it.

Another practical lesson one learns in the woods is that appearances are deceitful. The most dangerous blooms and foliage are apt to carry poison in their breath or touch, as may be said of the human race, particularly its female sex. Again we learn that it's the heart and nature of the thing that counts. One is amazed to find a worm-eaten, blighted old monarch, fallen from the trees of the forest, left for many decades in the rot of wet leaves and humus, sound at heart and, as it were, magnificent and strong even in death and useful still as fuel for his owner.

Another intensely useful lesson, sociologically, which the forest and jungle reveal is the influence of environment on the life in and around it. One realizes in nature, what the learned have apparently begun to sense from science, that the influences of environment are negligible, so far as observable, in changing the characteristics of plant or animal life; but of intense importance in the individual life of either the plant or animal. Innumerable examples might be mentioned, of which lay and scientific literature are full, but perhaps the point will be simply made by the known influence of certain types of coniferous trees, pines, and evergreens, on the air and water of a neighborhood and on the health of their denizens. In these things, we find practical guides to economic and social theories which are too often completely disregarded. Nature takes eternity to change her types; she will yield in a few months to changing the surroundings and improving the living conditions, health and happiness of representatives of those types. Nowhere has this been more notable than in the conquest of tropical fevers. Jealous in the extreme of aught that tampers with her handiwork, she is instantly responsive to efforts which will make them finer examples of their type. In our efforts toward human happiness we shall progress faster if this fact is ever in mind. If sociologically, we can clean out the swamps, and marshes, and infested places of human habitation and activities, we shall find the nature of man instantly responsive. If, economically, we can eliminate the supposed necessity of hunting for food, the belief that destroying others is the price of existence, and the fear that there is not enough to go round and hence the conviction each must covet more than his share and seek to hold more than his needs require, we shall find human nature as decent as the nobler forms of brute nature, for it is the fact, that there are probably not three wild animals in the world that will attack or destroy, except in fear, self-defense, or hunger, and never for the malice of the kill or to get more than its share when it has enough: another important and fine lesson that one learns in the forest and jungle.

Perhaps the most significant message brought to man from the field and wilderness, the forest or jungle, is that even in their supposedly stark and ruthless realities, most of the hardships which their creatures suffer are unnecessary and avoidable, due either to stupidity, neglect, or indolence. The provident and intelligent dweller of the wilds lives in comparative safety and comfort, if left to himself and his natural resourcefulness. One finds comparatively few carcasses of dead or frozen or starved creatures in miles and miles of forest and field. There come great and exceptional droughts and blizzards and periods of extreme cold that take their toll, but it is insignificant in relation to the multitudinous life of wild places. Under average and generally prevailing conditions, the wild creature is safe and lives wholesomely. Certainly, if it were possible to compare statistics of casualties, misfortunes and disasters, we should find our furred and feathered neighbors better off than we are. God Almighty created nothing for destruction or misery; and, wherever greater forces confront his creatures, He has endowed them with the capacity to deal with and overcome them, until the so-called ingenuity of man devils the situation by stupid meddling or selfish ideas of conquest.

It becomes increasingly apparent how much of the hardships of even our grandparents were needless. They lived in the dark when the world was full of electricity. They lived in the cold, when heat was to be had for a pittance from many sources. They lived on unhealthy rations when balanced diet and adequate nourishment could have been had by all but the utterly destitute. They garbed themselves in grotesque, ill-adapted attire, when taste and skill would have made them more comfortable, more presentable and with less cost. They neglected their bodies when a bath could have been had for a penny. They spent weeks on the highway that could have been travelled in as many days, if not hours. They grew up and lived in ignorance when education and even learning could be brought to hand with easy and available cost. They went without news of the world and their dear ones and friends, which two cents or less would have brought over night, or a trifle more over wires, instantly to their doors. They knew nothing of music or the current thought of the world, while the ether washed it against their roof trees. They grew ill and dull of ailments which an ounce of medication or a minute of prophylaxis would have disposed of. They strained over plows and axes and scythes from which a gallon of gasoline would have set them free. They made distorted drudges of their wives, ate cold food in winter and hot food in summer, and did not dare dream of gentle manners or luxuries. All of which we know was unnecessary, and regret it, except for the characters it built, and the vital men and women it made. We have these things, but alas we do not know how to use them. It sometimes seems as if they have come to us too soon, for we are letting them soften our muscles, destroy our moral fibre, and grow fat, in our hearts and brains. But the point here is not that, but to make clear that as in the individual lives of forest, field and the jungle, so in the individual lives of men, the greater part of hardships we deplore are due to our own stupidity, neglect, or indolence; that, in fact, and not in poetry, we truly live in Elysian fields where the utmost legitimate desire of man can be satisfied by all men, if we will avail of the comfort, grace, and beauty with which our lives are endowed. Let us forever put behind us the idea that this is a hard world, full of woe, and that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. It may have been sincere and devout, but the philosophy of New England, and the patient endurance of the John Fergusons with their doleful slogan of "joy cometh in the morning", and the melancholy hymns of the evangelical church, and the essays on "Blessed be Drudgery", and the perversion of the Beatitudes, and all the symphonies of sorrow do not square with the facts of life. God did not create a dyspeptic world. He put us here to live, and to live more abundantly. In the spirit of a college campus in June, we ought to take the lugubrious works, hymns, poems, proverbs, phrases, and all their ilk, and burn them, as students burn their Calculus as they look forward to the commencement of life. It would be a poor debater who could not prove that there is, by nature, in the seven ages of man vastly more of joy than sorrow if they are lived, are permitted to be lived, naturally. The damnable part of life is that we neither live, nor let live, because our stupidity and selfishness have distorted it into a thing of exploitation, fear, dread, misery, and general wretchedness. We have suffocated the joys and hopes of vastly more than half of mankind by excluding it from the land and natural resources or making it pay impossible toll therefor. We have killed the zeal and crushed the spirit of vastly more than half of mankind by the artificial handicaps and oppression created by false ideas of inheritance; we have enslaved and exploited vastly more than half of mankind by legal fictions of corporate monopoly and unutterably false economic principles. By these devices we have enslaved the human race, for the benefit of an infinitesimal few, and we have accepted as God's mandate the unspeakable woes of humanity, created by our own stupidity and selfishness, and as foreign to God's plan of creation as pestilence is to happiness. Let us think of our world in terms of the forest in May and not of midnight in the dives of Marseilles.

In the ways of the men of the forest and jungle, the lumberjacks, the guides, the hunters and trappers, much, too, is to be learned that can be well applied to our conduct of human relations and our efforts toward true and substantial happiness for the great majority. And first among them, these: the forest, like the sea, or wherever man meets elemental nature, teaches that deceit is dangerous and one can not lie to others or to himself without disaster. In nature, truth is compulsory. It will not be tricked, it can not be defrauded. Mock courage, pretended preparedness and obliquity do not get on. One can not bluff the elements or lie to or about himself in primitive surroundings. Some day we shall learn that that is true in man's relation to man.

There is, too, an intelligence which nature brings surpassing book-learning, perhaps because it is taught more patiently and seriously; and there is a wisdom born of the outdoor life which excels much that pretends to be philosophy, because it is based upon true speculation, that is, the observance of life as it is and not upon hypothetical theories. Take a very simple but sometimes unpleasant and dangerous experience, of being lost in trackless wilds. Under such conditions, the wanderer hopelessly turns in great circles and upon exhaustion of his efforts, it will be found that his frenzied attempt to escape has never taken him away from the arc of the circle he has been treading. Science may have other explanations, but the experienced woodsman will tell you, from his own observation, that it is because we are trained single-handed and our muscular development on the right side, in most cases, has thrown us out of balance, and being stronger, we stride further with one leg than the other, when we are not consciously able to direct our course by vision or objectives. Before science sneers at this, it must check up certain forms of physical ailment which the medical profession recognizes as due to the same cause.

From the experience of being lost in a forest or jungle, a simple but tremendous analogy and lesson may be drawn for human society. For thousands of years now it has developed on the right, through feudalism and capitalism. Its development on the left is going at first to be awkward and fatal, if too much is unwisely attempted as in Russia. Mayhap the answer to our present political uncertainty and panic is the same that would be given by an experienced guide through the forest; lengthen the left stride, but don't overdo it, for either you will wear yourself out or find you are travelling an equally hopeless circle in the reverse direction.

If the analogy has not become tiresome, let us consider one other practical lesson. Many an amateur hunter has been told by his guide, if he finds himself lost to sit still, make a fire and discharge his gun at regular intervals, if he has one. This is sound advice if one is sure that in hearing or seeing distance, there are those who know how to reach him and get him out. But, if there are not, he will starve or die of exposure, and sitting still is the height of folly and a form of suicide. Now, a good many people and peoples in the present distress seem to have adopted this policy, which must lead, necessarily, either to destruction or dictatorship. It depends on whether there is an experienced and strong enough guide in earshot who can get them out of the woods, and involves the risk that they may find themselves far worse off by the advent of some one who happens to be nearby and is only dressed and talks like a guide. On the whole it seems safer for humankind to lengthen the left stride and make an heroic effort to get out by themselves.

There are innumerable counselors who chant the old phrases, "do not swap horses crossing a stream", "let well enough alone", "don't rock the boat", "don't stir things up at this time", "sit still and be patient", and all the other maxims of laissez faire; which is quite all right, provided they can assure humanity that there are leaders and there is strength and skill and experience to lead them out of their present frightful dangers. While we can yet walk, let us walk and remember that our country, at least, was founded by those who believed God helped those who helped themselves.

It is a common saying that time is the great healer; it is, as well, the great revealer. The unhappy conditions of mankind during the past three years have given us the answer to many things, which were seen formerly as through a glass darkly, and that by only a few. Many facts of great moment have been revealed and great changes, some of the vast importance of the recent press report, that hard times had healed the breach between an Episcopal bishop and a recalcitrant rector who believed classical dancing was proper within his sacred edifice; true, each averred that he adhered to his original view, but the inability to support the union of art and orthodoxy had dissolved the issue. Then, too, it is undoubtedly true that economic stringency has put a good many men and women back on their feet, who formerly loitered under silken quilts until high noon.

In this dénouement of depression, one of the truly striking revelations has been that there is no mystery at all about political corruption and its causes. It proves to be one of the unidentified brood of the money system under which we live and some of us who have denounced the flagrant conditions under certain notorious political machines, especially in large municipalities and state legislatures, should make an *amende honorable,* for big as they seemed they were small fry, in the system which sharply distinguishes, as one famous commoner put it, between petty and grand larceny on the one side and glorious larceny on the other.

It requires the fine ethical balances of capitalism to indicate the distinction between; for instance, a great bank which employs the son-in-law of the president of a foreign republic as a junior officer to distribute $500,000 as commission on a loan which required his father-in-law's approval, and a political leader whose son writes surety bonds on city contracts. It takes the same fine perceptions to distinguish ethically between the international banking firm, which employs the son of another president of a foreign borrowing republic, and makes him its messenger of gratitude; and a horse doctor, who under indictment for corrupting public officials, retains as counsel the son-in-law of the political leader, whose party controls the appointments to the District Attorney's office. It takes an even finer ethical perspective to distinguish between the employment by a great steel corporation, in a proceeding to get its federal taxes reduced, of all the government employees who worked on the original assessment, and the street peddler who hands five dollars to the political captain of the district to gain surcease from the patrolman's orders to keep moving.

What has never been grasped until these enlightened days of depression, when outside it is dark and inside it is lighter than it has been in some time, is that the alliance of capitalism and corruption in politics is inevitable; that they are, as it were, twin births of avarice and cupidity. One can not get on without the other; in fact, they are Siamese twins; one and inseparable now and forever. To make this very clear, it costs at least $2,000,000 for any ambitious citizen to volunteer for the Presidency and get within hailing distance of the nomination. It takes, at least, $500,000 to make the necessary effort to carry an election in the city of New York. Now when it comes to raising these funds, it can be truly said that capitalist interests do their full share. Analyze any report of contributions to a political cause and you will find a direct reflection of the wants and aversions of capitalism. A fifty thousand dollar contribution buys in national elections a minor ambassadorial position, just as a smaller amount gains exemption from traffic law enforcement in municipalities. In a social organization, where everyone must, whether he will or no, reckon the plus or minus of life in dollars, it is inevitable that politics should be adjusted to the same standards. The political mill is much like an old-fashioned flour mill. One takes to it money, if he has it, and gets what he wants in flour, if he is a good trader; in this instance, protection or distinction. If he has not money, he takes wheat, in this instance it is some considerable public following, and he exchanges it for flour, in this instance patronage. It would be a poor pun to say organized politics might be likened unto a sporting goods shop, where one buys the racket he is interested in. Now this whole business of political corruption is not as important as it seems, compared with the fundamental vices of modern social and political and economic organization; in fact, it is important chiefly as a symptom or result of the system, just as the rash which accompanies some fevers. It is true, and it is fair, to say that the average political boss is no more undesirable a citizen than many who condemn him. He is usually a pretty decent sort personally, with a kind of Robin Hood complex, who believes it is right to graft where it won't be missed, provided he tithes, as it were, to the poor and unhappy of his constituency. And a good many critics of such men could take a leaf from their odd philosophy. It is further to be observed that the parochial activities and the parental oversight of the crudest district leader has in it something of virtue, were it not contaminated with the conviction that the end justifies the means. Let it be further said, as a brilliant judge once said of the street woman that she was a necessary part of our civilization, so of the political boss and corruption, until that day comes when we shall not need plasters of benevolence to hide or relieve the running sores of economic injustice. When the average man and woman has a chance to share in God's natural resources, to be no longer dependent on the mercy of exploitation created by unlimited inheritance and corporate monopoly, we shall have no need to concern ourselves in political corruption, of high or low degree, any more than the average man or woman must concern themselves today about personal slavery, child labor or imprisonment for debt, all of which were swallowed, if not sanctioned, by our forebears.

For at least twenty-five centuries, thinkers, dreamers, philosophers, prophets, priests and kings have constructed fanciful realms wherein mankind would dwell in peace and happiness. From Plato's Republic to Lenin's Soviet, idealism has mixed with charlatanry, wisdom with sophism, and sincerity with self-interest, in the thought of producing man's Utopia.

None has ever attained anything like a significant, demonstrable scope or retained, where tried, its original purity. None has passed beyond more or less insignificant experiments, even democracy, if we view it historically.

Yet throughout the centuries man has remained essentially the same and nature has not varied. In the affairs of men, there have been countless accidents, in nature none. In the course of civilization, there have been tragic set-backs, but in nature there has been no retrogression. Nature is organized by the hand of God, man has not yet learned to organize himself, much less his affairs. He conceives justice, but knows not how to apply it; he conceives equality of opportunity, but knows not how to attain it; he conceives freedom, and knows not how to use it.

In all the dreams and schemes for a better world and happier existence, we find that the structure is built either upon some religious concept, upon some political theory, or upon some advanced sociological idea: never upon the known facts of man's nature.

Nowhere in human history can be found any conclusive evidence that religious beliefs or worship have had any significant permanent effects on human relations.

Nowhere in human history can be found any conclusive evidence that human relations are in the daily contacts of man to man, determined or controlled by political forms or types of governments.

Nowhere in human history can be found any conclusive evidence that sociological changes make any permanent difference in the fundamental nature of man.

This observation squares with the latest conclusions of science as to environment in the natural world.

It must be understood that the propositions laid down fully recognize, that in an era or with a people where religion is the dominant note in their communal life, the observance of its precepts are manifest as in absence of cruelty to animals, where animals are sacred; that where a considerable number of people live under a political theory, it reflects itself in their attitude toward certain phases of human existence, as where communism is in power, the abrogation and abhorrence of private property; that where advanced sociological ideas are accepted, living and working conditions will be found less miserable than in other communities. But no religion has ever brought the great majority of its followers to even an approximation of honor, unselfishness or the Golden Rule, in their daily conduct; no political theory, embodied in however strong a government, has ever made its adherents truly patriotic or willing to yield the least of their own that others may have equal opportunity for advancement or happiness; no social concept, however noble or however far advanced in practice, has ever implanted any real acceptance of justice or ethics in every-day life.

No religious, political, or social theory is worth a printed page, which can not take any city block or village street and so alter and direct the thought, consciousness and action of those who live upon it, so that it becomes a better block and better street for everyone who lives along it.

Without bitterness, it must be said that a vast deal of what is written and said, studied and preached on religion, politics and sociology, can be accounted for chiefly because it provides a livelihood and some pecuniary profit to those who make these subjects their profession.

A familiar religious hymn of earlier days promised the devout, happiness on "that beautiful isle of somewhere". What the world wants is happiness here and now.

When we cease trying to impress religious faiths, political ideas and social theories on the great majority, and devote ourselves to finding ways and means of satisfying the natural desires, hopes and ambitions of mankind, we shall come nearer to practical attainment.

Some years ago, a great journalistic genius called together for a supper of ham sandwiches, beer and ice-cream, all the newsboys he could corral with that enticement, and what he learned from those boys as to what made people buy newspapers, influenced the future policy of his papers and it reached the largest circulation a daily journal had ever attained.

If a sufficiently trained and analytical mind would spend a two weeks' vacation with a group made up arbitrarily of every tenth man and woman he met en route from Wall Street to Wawasee, he would come back with a working scheme for the advancement of civilization, provided, of course, he had a personality which could penetrate the individuals and amalgamate their group opinion.

If we knew accurately what the average man and woman truly want in their inner souls, we should know how to construct the world. No manufacturer or builder wastes his time and substance making his goods or building what he thinks his customers or patrons ought to want.

It will be argued that to apply this reasoning to human relations would mean that civilization would never advance. The simple fact is that civilization does not and can not advance any faster than the demands of human nature, and that the average man and woman controls the destiny of mankind. There are great movements when humanity seems to surge forward, but it will be found to be like the movement of the waves of the sea, apparent motion, perhaps turbulent disturbance, but no final movement of the water, except as it rises and falls with a tide, controlled outside itself, by a force which it and no man knows.

Has any one the illusion that beheading Charles I made the usurers of London any less relentless? Has any one the belief that destruction of the Bastile really produced human equality, fraternity or liberty? Has any one the idea that the adoption of the Code Napoleon brought to pass human justice? Does any one believe that the Civil War ended human slavery, except in name? Is any one satisfied that the crucifixion of Christ accomplished Christianity?

Civilization will not run ahead of man and man will not hold to an idealism beyond his grasp. The average man wants to be free from religious and political persecution, to be housed and live comfortably, to love, marry, and have children, to work without drudgery, to be decently rewarded for his work, to have a chance for his children to be adequately educated, to get on and attain more than he in the business or social scale, to be relieved of the constant worry of losing his job, of illness, unemployment and the inability to take care of his loved ones and dependents, to have the same respect in his community as his fellowmen, to have, when he chooses to use it, a voice in government, a little luxury and a chance for a decent amount of amusement and entertainment, and finally an old age, not haunted by fear of becoming a public charge.

The average man, the world over, has not these things today, not even a substantial part of them.

He is free from religious and political persecution, and that is all, in this simple list of natural and proper desires. And that represents the summation of the political and social progress of forty centuries, and a cost in millions of human lives and immeasurable woe. It is not to be sneered at or minimized; without this achievement, none of the high ambitions of the human race could have been aroused, much less their attainment even hoped for.

But religious and political freedom do not spell and have not brought economic justice; that must be the next great goal of humankind.

If it be contended that the average man is housed and lives comfortably, convincing proof to the contrary will be had in any city or hamlet of our country, and this without visiting slums of cities or the rural huts of the destitute. If it be contended that certainly today a man may love and marry whom he will, ask any shopgirl or subway guard: they have each their romance and neither dares marry, much less have children, because there is no accumulated surplus or certainty of employment, much less promotion or higher wages.

But it will be said modern labor has been freed of drudgery by machinery; is there no drudgery in leaving a Bronx flat at seven in the morning, standing in jammed cars for ten miles or more, and returning twelve hours later under the same conditions; is there no drudgery for the mother who nurses, cooks, washes, mends for a family of five? There may be less severe hardships, but there is as much drudgery for the masses of today as for their forebears, if not more.

Yet, we are asked, are not modern wages fixed by economic laws and protected by organized labor? The vast majority of wage earners are not organized, and whatever fictions may have heretofore obtained as to the economic relation of wages to capital and wealth are exploded. There are hundreds of thousands of men and women in every large city working for less than it costs to keep body and soul together, so that a day's sickness makes them charity patients, whether it be the charity of a kindly doctor, a friend or a hospital ward. If a man or woman can not get in exchange for conscientious labor enough to live a self-respecting life, he is being swindled, whether it be by his employer or the system under which he labors.

Surely, we are told, there can be no justification for the assertion that there is any limitation on even the poorest child's opportunity for education or social advancement; now in this as in other directions, let us not dissemble; education is free, but how many average families can release the earning power of children after high school age, even if they can make their own way? A higher education means and requires social contacts, and no boy ever got a college education going back and forth to a city university in a subway train; except for a bit of difference in their manners of life, the average man's offspring are economically about where he was when these children came along; success stories in magazines do not change the average. As for the rest of the assertions made, more need not be said than is shown by the analysis of American wealth, income tax reports, and insurance statistics; 90% of the country's wealth is owned by 10% of the citizenry; not one family out of a hundred has an income of $2,500 a year; and 85% of our people are dependent on relatives, friends, or charity, at the age of 65: this is normal, and has no relation to the present situation with 8,000,000 totally unemployed and at least 25,000,000 in need.

The things the average man wants are not unreasonable; it is shocking that he lacks them, not that he wants them. It is amazing that he has been at once so stupid and patient about getting them.

But the moment he breathes his wants or makes the slightest move to gain them, he is scoffed at and punished by his superiors, and rushed into idiotic political and social movements by his fellowmen. He prefers, therefore, being a decent sort, in no sense a communist, to keep his mouth shut and make the best of things. That is the tragedy of the great majority. He has no hatred for wealth or the wealthy; he is not against the government; he is not even sorry for himself; he is an honest soul, knows he is not getting a fair deal, but has no stomach for agitators and uplifters. He would like to live in a world where every one got a fair break and the more people who make money, become wealthy, powerful, and live in luxury under these conditions, the happier will he be; and he has too much sense not to know that there is a diversity of talents, that some men are abler than others, that some will succeed when others will fail, and that wealth and its rewards, achievement and its success can not be equally distributed until human abilities are equally distributed.

How near will we come to meeting the needs, the hopes and ambitions of that average man by breaking down just three obstacles in modern economic life, which, like huge artificial dams, keep the life-giving streams of great waters from irrigating the deserts of life? Man constructed these dams, not God or nature. The human race was not born into a world of economic injustice; it was not turned loose upon an earth where men who will work must none the less starve or live by the grace of others; it was not told to increase and multiply where all but few of a thousand children were destined for sorrow and misery.

Mankind was born not in the wilderness but in the Promised Land; but the abundance of the earth was monopolized by the strong and the few; and those who were born free men in fields of abundance became slaves in a salt desert, because the few and the strong built those artificial dams and barriers, which we today call the law of property in land and natural resources, the law of inheritance, and the law of corporate monopoly. This artificial accumulation of the national wealth and resources of all mankind into the reservoirs of a very small part of mankind is the essence of capitalism.

Land that was given to man in common, and the things above and below the earth, on which he must depend to be housed, to eat, to have light and be warm, ceased to be God's heritage to man and became the heritage of the very few, by the fiction called real property law.

The equality of opportunity which God gave to every human creature at birth ceased when the few and the strong learned that not only could they keep what they themselves accumulated but could mass it, generation upon generation, to unlimited amount, by what they called a law of inheritance.

The natural abilities with which God endowed each of his creatures were set at naught, when the few and the strong discovered how to devise a creature of their own, called the corporation, which could live forever and use and control countless millions of dollars and become so strong that none or all of the individuals, among the great majority, could compete with it, and, in time, could own all things they needed and make the many pay what the strong and few demanded.

Thus it has come that the average man, free politically and religiously, still lives in bondage like the ancient Israelites in the man-created desert, not the bondage of persecution for his beliefs in God, or the slavery of human cruelty, but in the bondage of economic injustice.

The wretchedness of man comes thus from man's own duplicity: and his happiness can come only by undoing his own stupid selfishness.

Too often masses have been beguiled by fantastic dreams and beautiful pictures of a Utopian world. There is a certain cruelty in drawing such fancies for the true and simple souls who want nothing more than a chance to live as God Almighty intended them to live. It is like the Fata Morgana of the desert. It does not lie in the powers of man to create a new world or reconstruct the one we live in. Much less does it lie in the powers of man to change the laws of nature or the nature of man. Too many disastrous attempts have been made in those directions. That is the business of a higher power, but what is our business, and what we can do, what eventually we must do, is to undo the selfish stupidities of our forebears and destroy the obstructions they built against the unvarying justice of the Creator, in their efforts to get each for himself more than his share, more than he could possibly use for himself, which they could get and keep only at an unconscionable cost to millions of their fellow men.

Let every one have his own religion, that is his affair and no one else's; let every people have the government their majority chooses, that is their concern. God will look after the souls of men, that is His business. But it is the job of all of us to see that future generations shall not suffer as has our own and all that have gone before, from a system of economic injustice, which man created for the damnation of man.

Mankind will build its own Utopia, when it has destroyed those ancient obstructions. Let it deal with facts not pictures; with conditions, not theories. Having advanced the proposition that the root of human wretchedness is beneath these ancient walls of the law of property, inheritance and corporate monopoly, we are prepared to prove at the bar of the judgment of mankind, the rightness thereof, in no spirit of contentiousness or bitterness, but in the spirit which hallows the sacred memories of those university cloisters where truth rises above personality and sets at naught self-interest or advancement.

The complexes which no one discusses or admits are the deceit complex and the coward complex. It is almost universally true that one can not get from one's most intimate friends, so simple a thing as an honest opinion. Every one of us has experienced the hypocritical smile of approval, under which was the reservation of doubt, if not disapproval. Every one of us has experienced the betrayal of friends, whose words of encouragement were belied, when it would have cost them something to stand by. Every one of us has experienced the heartburn of the reported comment or criticism of those whose applause was given to us when no one could hear. At least, we owe it to each other, not to lie under the guise of friendship; if we are enemies, to declare it. Before the world can move forward, we must purge ourselves of deceit, and our companionship of social lies. We must think what we say;

say what we think; or at least keep silent. We must not, in short, be social or moral cowards and liars.

There is a most depressing irksomeness in the oft-repeated phrase, "but such is human nature and you can not change it". Human nature, in this respect, does not vary from nature in general. God Almighty meant man to control nature. In the physical world man has learned this; in the spiritual world, man has yet to learn it. To take an acutely simple illustration: probably life depends upon the violet rays of the sun; for centuries man did not know this, but he did know he was cold; he also knew he required light; so he melted rock and sand to make glass; to gain light, he sacrificed the violet ray, all unwittingly; now hundreds of years later he knows he can have all; warmth, light and the life-giving properties of the sun, even without danger of being physically harmed, for he has invented both shatter proof and translucent glass. May it not be true in the relations of man; we can have truth, speak truthfully, exist honestly, and still live to the fullness of life, when once we learn to see God and justice no longer as through a glass darkly.

It is in the mass penalties of our crooked thought and action we perceive most clearly their terrific results and nowhere in history has this been clearer than in the present state of the world's affairs. Fifty million humans in the Western World seeking employment; a hundred million facing destitution, and half the human race without the necessities the human spirit needs and the human body requires. These are facts which must be dealt with in this age of man, where the ultimate decision of what must be done to cure all this rests with the great majority who have not the slightest idea how these great sorrows have come upon mankind, much less have they any notion how to cure them. Aye, still more, this great majority who must decide their own destiny and that of generations to come, have not the means of knowing the truth: can in all probability, as the world is now organized, never know what has brought upon the world the devastation of our day.

Uppermost in the minds of simple people the world over is the question, what has caused all the human woe; where has the fault been; what shall we do to be saved?

To answer, this is the penalty which crooked thinking and crooked action have inevitably brought, requires more than the mere assertion of an arbitrary conclusion.

Most of us were brought up to believe that at an earlier point in man's history, a wrathful God all but wiped out his creation in a flood as the punishment for man's wickedness. The allegory of that great flood has a meaning in human history. We have in our intelligence passed beyond the concept of a wrathful God and the idea that human wickedness consists only in violating commandments. But we know that the Creator laid down for his creatures laws, not written on stone, laws which could not be violated without penalty, and that those penalties are an inseparable part of his laws. Viewed from this aspect, we shall perhaps gain some light on the events which have hurled the world into its present adversity and sorrow.

It is roughly a century ago that man came to ascendancy over his environment, and in that hundred years there were unfolded, in the development of machinery and inventions, unthought of blessings, out of which the whole world and its great forces and all its beauty, became the heritage of man. It is as though man had at last come of age, and to him was given the control of all creation: steam, electricity, power navigation, telegraphy, transmission of sound, conquest of air and sea, control of plagues and most diseases, the discoveries of science, revelations of the scope and power of the human mind, certainty of food, clothing, and warmth—in short, is there today a single thing beyond the reach of man which is necessary or convenient for his health, comfort, or pleasure, if he has the means to have them?

Man then came into his estate, we shall say roughly, a hundred years ago. What did this heir of the realm of God do with his newly vested possessions? He went about trying to increase them, by exploiting those weaker than himself, seeking to monopolize the happiness they brought, and not content to hold them thus gripped in his own control while living, he reached his dead hand into the future to hold them for his kith and kin. He stamped upon God's gifts his own hallmark, by the fiction of private property in natural resources; he monopolized their benefits by incorporating himself into a fictitious legal being, and he thrust his control beyond the grave by the fiction of inheritance. Thus he built up what is called the capitalistic system of economics and society. It divided men into those who have and those who have not; it classified their living fellow beings into those who should profit by the labor of others, and those who should labor for others' profits; and it put children yet unborn into two groups: those of fortunate ancestry who should come into the world endowed without their own efforts with every luxury, forever relieved of the necessity to labor for their bread and shelter; and those who, because their ancestors had not been of the gentry, should labor throughout their lives in drudgery for sheer necessities and mere existence. The system flourished as had feudalism a thousand years earlier and racial slavery thousands of years before that.

Then came the Great War: nationalism had made capitalism overgreedy and in Titanic strife, costing thirteen million lives, capitalism destroyed itself; but, naturally, not its leaders, they were not in the trenches.

Out of that disaster, the great majority had driven into their stupid pates the first glimmering of the idea that the capitalistic system was a fraud and imposition.

And there we stand today. Conscious of the fraud, untrained, leaderless, and ignorant of the way out, misguided by mad, selfish or visionary self-appointed leaders.

The while the palsied hand of the old system still guides our states, our economics, and our welfare. Skilled though it may have been in its guidance of affairs in the day of its vigor and powers, it serves now only to drive civilization from one disaster to another, each greater than its predecessor.

If this be questioned, need one do more than review the events of the past ten years?

With implicit trust in and in literal obedience to its supposedly wisest leaders, ours, the most prosperous nation of the world, has gone from unprecedented prosperity to the depths of despair, while billions in wealth have disappeared.

With patient submission, the German people have surrendered to the Dawes Plan, the Young

Plan, and the advice of the leaders of world finance, and find themselves today bankrupt, prostrate, and headed for oblivion as a second rate nation.

With unwavering confidence, millions of Britishers have loyally followed their sovereign and leaders of the Empire, to find the gold standard abandoned, five millions unemployed and the wages of those employed automatically reduced by a quarter through an order in council.

The fifty million Frenchmen who could not be wrong when they believed in militaristic leadership and the promise of decreased taxes and increased prosperity have learned that even they can not escape the mass penalties of crooked thinking and crooked action.

From China to Chile the story is repeated of misguided masses, leaderless, bewildered, hopeless in this new and unnamed era which will succeed the dead or dying capitalistic system which destroyed itself in the Great War.

Of all that capitalism stood for, of all its principles, of all its axioms, what truth remains? It has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

For its cruelties and injustices, it is easier to forgive capitalism and its leaders, than for its amazing stupidity. Its one chance of escape from the temple it destroyed, from the results of its own great war, was to have cancelled its war debts and reparations. But the madness of the system was now incurable insanity, and the old adage again has proved true, whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. Capitalism might have rebuilt the world on its own foundation had it started to rebuild when the war was over; thirteen years later, it is concerned only in artificial debts created by the war. America has lost at least one hundred billions of national wealth in endeavoring to arrange the collection of twenty-two billions of war debts. England has sacrificed her own foreign commerce, domestic industry and banking stability trying to finance an insolvent debtor so as to collect earlier and doubtful obligations. France has drained her industries to gather the force in men and gold to enforce war reparations. This has been the genius of great minds trained in the school of capitalism. The most harebrained radicalism could not in a decade accumulate more disastrous, inexcusable and irremediable blunders than has the conservative, sound, intellectual leadership of capitalism.

Chagrined and without an answer to the starving desperate hordes the world over, there comes this answer: it is a world crisis, an unavoidable natural calamity, due to overproduction.

If history records an unforgivable lie: this is it.

If it is a world condition, who have been in charge of the world's affairs during the war and since?

If it is due to overproduction, who permitted stimulated and encouraged overproduction?

If there is overproduction, how does it happen that half the human race is unable to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life?

An unsigned writer in a financial journal has caught, with fine irony, the significance of this excuse, in the following words:

> All those who feel that man and his failings were responsible for the world's economic upheaval will at least receive some spiritual consolation from reading what Pope

> Pius thinks was the cause. This venerable and sequestered prelate holds man guiltless for the slump, since the crisis was too great for him alone to bring it about. Only God could so will it. The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Having taken considerable from the abundance which man had had for several years, mankind now hopes the Lord will relent and restore at least a part of it before very long. The good and kindly Pope will with his dissertation on the slump lift the burden of responsibility for it from many heavy hearts. They have listened to harsh criticisms for so long from people who have placed the blame on their shoulders that they have wondered whether they really did share in the débâcle, but these worries God has now assumed and there is little to fear on His part of having to undergo the fire of blame. Now that the Pope has clarified the question of who was the cause of the slump, we all can forget this controversial subject and get to work.

Now there is logic in the hypothesis that the world's present calamities are the act of God, but that logic will hardly be acceptable to capitalistic leadership for it reduces to this conclusion: God must be against their system or he would not visit such terrific punishment upon it. And, moreover, it is a little difficult to reconcile such visitation without identifying the theology of capitalism with a most extreme Fundamentalism which is not accepted in the pulpits they subsidize. Moreover, if the present calamity be God's will, it follows that the desperate efforts of the leaders of capital to prevent it and avoid its results is a profane act; as pious men, they must learn to say "Thy will be done."

Whether God punished capitalism or capitalism collapsed of its own rotten injustice; it is gone, for better or worse.

It is because of the necessity for the building of a new and truer system of society that it becomes so vitally necessary for every one of us to stop our crooked thinking and action. Every prior system of society has been imposed upon the great majority. This time the great majority must construct their own order of laws, political economy, and society. It must be built by and upon each one of us. Try to build a wall with crooked or deformed bricks, and you will realize there is no plaster strong enough to hold it plumb or keep it standing. Here is the crisis of civilization: are we fit to build for ourselves a true and just system of human relations? We shall be only as we search our own hearts, and resolve to make ourselves fit to think straight and act honestly.

As we view the century and a half which includes the history of our own nation we are amazed at the mechanical progress of this little fragment of time. It is literally true that a new world has been created by the inventiveness and industry of man. There has been progress but there is still poverty; there has been achievement but there is still injustice; there has been high attainment but there is still human cruelty; there has been great culture but there is still oppression; there has been immeasurable accomplishment but there is still general wretchedness. Men appear to have learned to live in harmony with the forces of nature, they are very little nearer knowing how to live in peace and happiness with each other.

A century and a half ago Voltaire died. His was the vision and the voice which shook his world and unmasked and destroyed the extreme injustices of his time. One of the great masterpieces of eloquence was Victor Hugo's oration on Voltaire delivered at the Paris Exposition May 30, 1878, on the hundredth anniversary of his death. From its opening paragraph the following is quoted, as reported:

> "A hundred years ago today a man died. He died immortal. He departed laden with years, laden with works, laden with the most illustrious and the most fearful of responsibilities, the responsibility of the human conscience informed and rectified.
>
> "Peace is the virtue of civilization; war is its crime.
>
> "There is only one power, conscience in the service of justice; and there is only one glory, genius in the service of truth. That said, I continue.
>
> "Before the revolution, gentlemen, the social structure was this:
>
> At the base, the people;
>
> Above the people, religion represented by the clergy;
>
> By the side of religion, justice represented by the magistracy.
>
> And, at that period of human society, what was the people? It was ignorance. What was religion? It was intolerance. And what was justice? It was injustice. Am I going too far in my words? Judge.
>
> I will confine myself to the citation of two facts, but decisive.
>
> At Toulouse, October 13, 1761, there was

found in a lower story of a house a young man hanged. The crowd gathered, the clergy fulminated, the magistracy investigated. It was a suicide; they made of it an assassination. In what interest? In the interest of religion. And who was accused? The father. He was a Huguenot, and he wished to hinder his son from becoming a Catholic. There was here a moral monstrosity and a material impossibility; no matter! This father had killed his son; this old man had hanged this young man. Justice travailed, and this was the result. On the month of March, 1762, a man with white hair, Jean Calas, was conducted to a public place, stripped naked, stretched upon a wheel, the members bound upon it, the head hanging. Three men are there upon a scaffold, a magistrate, named David, charged to superintend the punishment, a priest to hold the crucifix, and the executioner with a bar of iron in his hand. The patient, stupefied and terrible, regards not the priest, and looks at the executioner. The executioner lifts the bar of iron, and breaks one of his arms. The victim groans and swoons. The magistrate comes forward; they make the condemned inhale salts; he returns to life. Then another stroke of the bar; another groan. Calas loses consciousness; they revive him, and the executioner begins again; and, as each limb before being broken in two places receives two blows, that makes eight punishments. After the eighth swooning the priest offers him the crucifix to kiss; Calas turns away his head, and the executioner gives him the coup-de-grâce; that is to say, crushes in his chest with the thick end of the bar of iron. So died Jean Calas.

That lasted two hours. After his death, the evidence of the suicide came to light. But an assassination had been committed. By whom? By the judges. (Great sensation, Applause.)

Another fact. After the old man, the younger man. Three years later, in 1765, at Abbeville, the day after a night of storm and high wind, there was found upon the pavement of a bridge an old crucifix of worm-eaten wood, which for three centuries had been fastened to the parapet. Who had thrown down this crucifix? Who had committed this sacrilege? It is not known. Perhaps a passerby. Perhaps the wind. Who is the guilty one? The Bishop of Amiens launches a monitoire. Note what a monitoire was: it was an order to all the faithful, on pain of hell, to declare what they knew or believed they knew of such or such a fact; a murderous injunction, when addressed by fanaticism to ignorance. The monitoire of the Bishop of Amiens does its work; the town gossip assumes the character of the crime charged. Justice discovers, or believes it discovers, that on the night when the crucifix was thrown down, two men, two officers, one named La Barre, the other d'Etallonde, passed over the bridge of Abbeville, that they were drunk, and that they sang a guard-room song. The tribunal was the Seneschalcy of Abbeville. The Seneschalcy of Abbeville was equivalent to the court of the Capitouls of Toulouse. It was not less just. Two orders for arrest were issued. D'Etallonde escaped, La Barre was taken. Him they delivered to judicial examination. He denied having crossed the bridge; he confessed to having sung the song. The Seneschalcy of Abbeville condemned him; he appealed to the Parliament of Paris. He was conducted to Paris; the sentence was found good and confirmed. He was conducted back to Abbeville in chains. I abridge. The monstrous hour arrives. They begin by subjecting the Chevalier de la Barre to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to make him reveal his accomplices. Accomplices in what? In having crossed a bridge and sung a song. During the torture one of his knees was broken; his confessor, on hearing the bones crack, fainted away. The next day, June 5, 1766, La Barre was drawn to the great square of Abbeville, where flamed a penitential fire; the sentence was read to La Barre; then they cut off one of his hands; then they tore out his tongue with iron pincers; then, in mercy, his head was cut off and thrown into the fire. So died the Chevalier de La Barre. He was nineteen years of age. (Long and profound sensation.)

Then, O Voltaire! thou didst utter a cry of horror, and it will be thine eternal glory! (Thunders of applause.)

Then didst thou enter upon the appalling trial of the past; thou didst plead, against tyrants and monsters, the cause of the human race, and thou didst gain it. Great man, blessed be thou forever. (Renewed applause.)

Gentlemen, the frightful things which I have recalled were accomplished in the midst of a polite society; its life was gay and light;

people went and came; they looked neither above nor below themselves; their indifference had become carelessness; graceful poets, Saint-Aulaire, Boufflers, Gentil-Bernard, composed pretty verses; the court was all festival; Versailles was brilliant; Paris ignored what was passing; and then it was that, through religious ferocity, the judges made an old man die upon the wheel, and the priests tore out a child's tongue for a song. (Vivid emotion. Applause.)

In the presence of this society, frivolous and dismal, Voltaire alone, having before his eyes those united forces, the court, the nobility, capital; that unconscious power, the blind multitude; that terrible magistracy, so severe to subjects, so docile to the master, crushing and flattering, kneeling upon the people before the king (Bravo!); that clergy, vile mélange of hypocrisy and fanaticism; Voltaire alone, I repeat it, declared war against that coalition of all the social iniquities, against that enormous and terrible world, and he accepted battle with it. And what was his weapon? That which has the lightness of the wind and the power of the thunderbolt. A pen. (Applause.)

With that weapon he fought; with that weapon he conquered.

Gentlemen, let us salute that memory.

Gentlemen, between two servants of Humanity, who appeared eighteen hundred years apart, there is a mysterious relation.

To combat Pharisaism; to unmask imposture; to overthrow tyrannies, usurpations, prejudices, falsehoods, superstitions; to demolish the temple in order to rebuild it, that

> is to say, to replace the false by the true; to attack a ferocious magistracy; to attack a sanguinary priesthood; to take a whip and drive the money-changers from the sanctuary; to reclaim the heritage of the disinherited; to protect the weak, the poor, the suffering, the overwhelmed, to struggle for the persecuted and oppressed—that was the war of Jesus Christ! And who waged that war? It was Voltaire.
>
> The completion of the evangelical work is the philosophical work; the spirit of meekness began, the spirit of tolerance continued. Let us say it with a sentiment of profound respect: Jesus Wept; Voltaire Smiled. Of that divine tear and of that human smile is composed the sweetness of the present civilization. (Prolonged applause.)"

What high hopes are here and in the closing paragraph:

> "Gentlemen, the nineteenth century glorifies the eighteenth century. The eighteenth proposed, the nineteenth concludes. And my last word will be the declaration, tranquil but inflexible.
>
> The time has come. The right has found its formula: human federation."

Were Voltaire and Hugo to view the world of today, the smile of Voltaire would have known the greater wisdom of the divine tear, when Jesus wept, and Hugo would have found the great cadences of his noble words lost in the muffled cries of millions upon millions of hungry unemployed men and women.

The specific things Voltaire attacked have passed,—"the terrible magistracy: that clergy, vile mélange of hypocrisy and fanaticism," the wanton powers of King and nobility. But is ours on the whole a better, happier world than that of Voltaire's day? It is popular to answer with a certain and smug affirmative, and to establish the proposition by pointing to the absence of many of the barbarities of that day and to the many conveniences, privileges, opportunities and liberties of the great majority in the present day. To reply that such arguments beg the question is to appear to put oneself in the anomalous position of seeking to prove to humanity that it ought to be unhappy, an immensely unpopular rôle, more or less reserved for the "lunatic fringe" of rebellious movements. The great rôle of popular leadership is ever to worship the God of Things as They Are, with just here and there one or two minor improvements, flashy enough to attract the populace without in any way interfering with the economic system, and social and religious order of things—like the cut-glass flower vases motor manufacturers put in automobiles to accelerate their sale to silly women who never look under the hood. Unpopular or detestable as the rôle may be, it has been one of the great calamities of civilization, that few sound minds have had the courage to take it and to refuse to cajole the great majority into a false belief in superficial contentment. Had more leaders of courage dared to face irresistible facts, perceived and known to them, to have acted on the conviction, again to use Hugo's phrasing, that "there is only one power, conscience in the service of justice; and there is only one glory, genius in the service of truth," we should have avoided those great and unnecessary cataclysms of civilization, like the French Revolution and the progress of mankind would have been steadier and less blood-stained.

The simple fact is that the average human being is today no better off than he was when Jesus Wept or when Voltaire Smiled.

For, first it must be recalled historically that the spectacular cruelties of those earlier days affected only a very small percentage of mankind, even the wars and the military atrocities of such times touched only a numerically very small part of the masses. We leave to the credit of the last millennium the accomplishment of a more scientific distribution of cruelty and injustice so that it now affects the great majority. Your farmer in ancient Palestine in Christ's time and your peasant of Voltaire's day lived, if you will, a comparative life of bliss; perhaps it will be said because he was ignorant; however, terrible might be the possible dangers and potential cruelties of oppression which surrounded him, actually it was exceptional if he really suffered, and under his own vine and fig tree, on the whole, considering generation in and generation out over the centuries, he lived a life of comfort, security and peace. He had fresh air to breathe, nature to commune with, work to do which was definitely productive, was certain of his roof and bread and butter, could raise a family, believed implicitly in his religion, and enjoyed good health because he lived a natural life. Let us admit that he was surrounded by the possibility of plagues, military conquest, perhaps actual slavery, annihilation and innumerable other dangers, but while he lived, he lived wholesomely; and though it be said he lived as did the brute and the beast, it happens to be true that the weakest animal of the forest and jungle, subject any moment to instant destruction, still lives a happy life because despite his dangers, he does not live in terror of them except as he confronts them, and obviously this does not befall the great majority or his kind would become extinct. This is not to argue, as some have, that man should have been left in a natural state or that man is worse off today than he was a thousand or a hundred years ago. It is to argue that he is no better off, for what he has gained, he has surrendered its full equivalent; he has escaped certain types of injustice to encounter others; he has survived more obsolete cruelties only to be crushed by others, and it takes a rather fine balancing of imponderable factors to determine whether he is on the whole quite as well off, as in former times. To use a most prosaic illustration; which is the better off, the brilliantly plumaged bird of the South American jungle, singing in its tree top, uncertain of its food and water, constantly in danger of the beaks of savage hawks, its nest imperilled by a hundred marauders and its life subject to the charm of some creeping serpent; or the captured fellow of that bird, safe from every external harm and sure of its subsistence, but caged, not free to mate as it will, never again to see the blue heavens or the brilliant jungle but doomed to sing until its soul is gone for the amusement of its owner and captors? To the joy of life there must contribute "things not made by hand." To have everything is to have nothing, if it include not the things we, in our inner selves, know that for ourselves are worth while.

Again we come upon the difficult matter of relating the cruelties and injustices of earlier times to those of our own and here again, it takes something finer than a jeweler's scale to determine the balance. Let us try to state one phase of the problem in an understandable business style: Proposition number one is this: For a hundred years the people of the village A have lived unmolested, since the Napoleonic wars let us say or even go back five hundred years; all of the villagers have always had enough of meat, and bread and wine, vegetables and milk, lived in warm little houses of native timber, have attended the parish church, had their community festivals, their folk dances and their music, a little schooling for their children; an occasional visitor from the outer world stops at the village inn to buy their cattle, or their wine, or their cheese, or lace work; the men have had good hunting and fishing, the thrills of mountain climbing and an occasional gambling and drinking bout; the women have done their own work, borne and brought up large families with the certainty that when grown they would marry and find a place for them and theirs in the village life; with a silk or satin dress and black hat for the church gatherings and the funerals, and some among them a chance to learn a little of music or to paint or do some other manual art; the children have grown up out of doors, never undernourished or wan for lack of vitamins, violet rays or oxygen, been natural in their companionship with other living things, and with each other, learned much of nature, and thereby of God; justice in that village has been administered as simple equity, and all, but the occasional blackguard, have lived honestly, harmed no one and never thought of taking from another that which was not his, whether it be flocks or herds or wife or anything else that was not his own.

True, on the other hand, wars might have swept that little village off the map, some stranger might have carried in a dread disease which there was no means to cope with. some original mind among them might have questioned the authority of a distant king or challenged some doctrine of the church and been carried away to die in a dungeon or be wracked on the pinion; and even an avalanche might have hurled itself down the mountainside or a neighboring peak might have erupted and buried the little village in molten lava.

And, in another and more advanced part of the world, amid great coal mines, or steel plants or textile mills, there has been the while another village B, where for a hundred years or more each succeeding generation has worked in the mines or the plants or the mills. They have never had quite enough to eat or been certain about their wages, either in amount or permanency. Their homes have been owned by the company or others than themselves. The rewards of their labors have not been measured to their needs, but to what the company could afford to pay and still show profit enough to satisfy its distant owners in the luxury of their great cities or estates. If they needed more and were willing to work more for more wages, this they could not do because the supply of what they produce must never quite equal the demand for prices might then be reduced. The wages have been paid either in orders for food and clothes on the company's store, or at times in currency, which in the few hours after they got it and before it could be spent had shrunk to a part the value at which they were obliged to take it. Of leisure, except enforced leisure, they have never known. They must go down in the shaft, into the furnaces, back to the machines, when the whistle blows or the gong sounds, sick or well, under penalty of losing the job and starvation for them and their families. Their wives and children have lived in the filth and smoke and soot of a mining town, a steel city or a textile village: with air so thick and fouled with fumes that rarely has the sun broken through and its decrepit rays have reached them robbed of their life giving qualities. For amusement of the men there has been the pub or the saloon or the speakeasy and weary nights have women waited for drunken husbands with pockets emptied of the just paid wages. For men and women there has been no diversion and so out of sexual excesses they have brought children in quick succession, for no one of which there is enough to give it proper food, sunlight, out-of-doors, medical attention, education or opportunity, except some day to be permitted to go down into those mines, or to the furnaces or the weaving sheds. The name of God is rarely heard except in drunken curses and not a flower or a tree or a bird is there, except struggling weeds in the gutters, a dying geranium on the window sill of some beauty-hungry soul and a noisy and profane parrot that swings over the bar at the corner saloon. Sport has consisted only in gambling, prize fights, dog fights or cock fights. Religion has meant either a dull going to mass or more frequently nothing. Music except lurid songs is not heard; and art is embraced in the advertising posters on the fences and walls. The solace of the women is beer or gin when they can get it or secret triangles with men who don't belong to them. For the youths and maidens, having no place to make their tryst, in rooms crowded with other sleeping or grumbling members of the families, there are always areaways, hallways and dark corners where nature yields, and then there are illegitimates and disgrace and disease and suicide.

After all it is not so easy to determine how the happiness of man has progressed since Jesus wept and Voltaire smiled.

But it will be said that the hardships of today are immeasurably less cruel and barbarous than were those of other times. Was not Hugo's Jean Calas tortured inhumanly for two lives? Was not in the case of Chevalier de La Barre a child's tongue torn out for a song?

Read for yourself, in order that their horror be not permanently recorded to the eternal shame of our civilization, at random, if you will, the stories of the hundred neediest cases, published each Christmas by a great newspaper in New York City, and answer how long the victim under this or that case number has been tortured; find for yourself the reason why the little children under case number this or that have had their hearts torn out, not ever having had the thrill of lilting a song.

In an ironic sense, not meant by Victor Hugo's words, we may say, in truth "of that divine tear and of that human smile is *composed* the sweetness of the present civilization."

Obviously, and to be intensely practical, there must be something wrong in the way we have gone about the business of "rectifying the human conscience."

Here, indeed, is the great AMARTIAN.

There must come to all who know the world through personal observation in different lands and amidst different peoples, provided one sees below the surface, the strong conviction, that the motives and desires and the natures of the great majority of all countries are the same. That the problems of their advancement are strangely, not only similar, but identical; and that viewed from our day those problems have been approached from the wrong angle and dealt with in the wrong way. Had one the all-seeing eye of an omniscient creator, it would probably be clear that this seemingly wrong development of civilization was in fact right and inevitable. Force is the beginning of life: the compulsion to get born, whether it be a chick or a child; to make room for itself in the world; to find a place in the sun and keep it for oneself and one's offspring. Force is the only element in human existence which primitive man could recognize. Through a blind fear of it he built his religion; out of a more crafty use of it he dominated his brute neighbor, and built human society; and it is natural that he identified it with what was right and what was law. And so down to our very generation culminating in the Great War, civilization has been the gradual comprehension and the wise or imprudent application of force to man's problem of existence. As a result, it necessarily follows that civilization has developed lopsidedly and we have had for thousands of years, inaccurate conceptions of religion, patriotism, society, relations between man and woman, political economy, and law. It is now possible, when force has created for us a world fit and safe to live in and be happy, aye more, it is necessary that we now correct these wrong ideas and live in the peace, contentment, and security, which force and men of force have created for us. In doing this we shall not have to discover new truths or invent new relationships. The thinkers and poets and the truly great of the ages have done this for us. All we need to know of religion is that the Kingdom of God is *within us* and that "dust thou art, to dust returnest was not spoken of the soul"—in that all true religions are reconciled. All we need to know of the fundamentals of true patriotism is found in the life of Joan of Arc. All we need to know of the verity of human love we shall find in the poems of the Brownings. All we need to know of the essence of family life is in "The Cotter's Saturday Night." All we need to know of the means and manners of human society we shall find in the writings of Plato, Tolstoi, and other visionaries beginning long ago with Aknaten. All we need to know of the basic truths of political economy is in Herbert Spencer's works, in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," the Essays of Emerson and other thinkers of an earlier day. And all we need to know of law is in the precepts of Justinian, " to live honestly, harm no one, and render to each his own."

Applying these elemental truths, as now for the first time in human history we can, we shall be spared the bitter realizations of "The Man with the Hoe," the shambles of revolution, the destruction of wars, and the sorrow of countless millions of simple, true, fine, people, sweated always, slaughtered periodically, starved recurrently, through lives of fear and uncertainty, domestic tragedy and hopeless labors, from their outset as void of the possibility of true happiness, as the cattle and sheep, raised solely to die in the stockyards of Chicago.

There is nothing so unutterably stupid as class hatred, nothing more viciously misleading than to believe, much less to teach, that the misery of humanity has been intentionally wrought by one group against another. Masses and classes have been equally the unavoidable result of a system, call it what you will, capitalism or "right through might," which has through the centuries made it impossible for the hereditary ruler and aristocrat to perceive of the rest of humanity except as "speaking tools" designed to work for them and produce the fulfillment of their most wanton desires. It is equally impossible for those who have been traditionally "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water" to perceive of the upper classes except as a different class of human being, either designed by God to use them or inspired by the devil to abuse them. It is easy now to perceive that the thousands of helpless innocents who were buried in the belly of Moloch brought no good to any one. The idea was stupid; the system was wrong; the sacrifices were futile. We must now come to a similar realization that true religion has no place for intolerance or the fear to live, or the fear to die; that true patriotism makes wars impossible, and never necessary; that in a true society, there can be neither classes nor masses; neither exploiter nor exploited; neither wanton luxury nor dire necessity; that in a true relationship between man and woman there can be neither profligacy nor divorce; nor illegitimate wanted children or legitimate unwanted children; that in a true political economy, capital and labor shall constitute assets of equal rank, worth and dignity on the balance sheet of human progress; that in a true system of law, man-made laws shall be the expression of natural justice of the community toward the individual, and individuals toward each other.

These objectives are attainable not in a remote Utopian future, but here and now. The views here expressed will be responded to by every man and woman who reads these pages, wherever he may read them, or in whatever language. There are no new truths here spoken, they are the commonest observations of all the human race. The very fact that the written word will now carry to half the human race, and the spoken word to at least a third of it, so clearly points the way to achieve the end of human happiness, let us not disregard it, because it is simple and obvious. Sit down with any man or woman of your own or another people, with nothing more than a vocabulary of 100 words each in the other's language, talk of life's ventures and fundamentals, and an hour or two hence you will find accord of viewpoint, in hope, ambition, patriotism, religion, family, justice, law and even ethics, provided you can "get under each other's skin" and dare to express the true longings of your own spirit. Perhaps both of you will say things that have been hidden in your hearts and never before expressed in words. Men build cathedrals of stone, others talk of their worship in the cathedrals of nature and the forest; too few remember that wherever two human souls come genuinely together, without emotion or sentiment, but with sincerity and sense, there is a cathedral that can be built anywhere by just two pairs of hands. In building such a cathedral, much of blasting must first be done. If your companion be a criminal, one must blast his hunted fear of society he has wronged. If she be a prostitute, one must blast the defiance of her conscious shame. If he be a man whom the world rates as cold and unemotional, you must blast the superficial rock of a so-called reserve. If he be priest or man of the cloth you must blast his conscious loyalty to a creed and his over-zealous devotion to a theological formula. If she be a woman to the manner born, you must blast the walls of modesty which inbreeding has built around her and causes her to shy at the naked truth as she would at the naked body. If he or she be that most difficult of mortals, a philosophist, who has read enough to be informed but not wise, to be clever but not learned, to be cynical but not sincere, in brief, of the so-called intelligentsia, you must blast the pretense of irony, the psychopathic love of smart phrases. Be he or she whoever they may be, the realities absorbed at the mother's breast, the verities learned at the father's knee, will assert themselves, for there is a fundamental common sense in all the human race and a basic realization of truth, which all the artificial battlements and fortresses of life can not resist. Then you and I, whatever your race or creed, meet man to man, and we realize that your hopes are my hopes, that your heart stirs to the same appeal, your ideas of justice are mine, and what is more strange, that we are agreed as to what is wrong with the world and how to remedy it. And this we have accomplished by blasting beneath the surface—indeed the first great task in bringing the world to happiness is to blast out wrong ideas and artificial obstructions in the great course of God's eternal justice. And we shall get the rest of the way, when we realize that you and I multiplied, 50 or 100 million times each represents his people; that I am America, and you are England, France, Germany, Russia, aye, even China or India. *And* the practical effects of that are attainable, for I, today, by the grace of God, can actually talk to tens of millions of your people, and you may talk to scores of millions of mine. Therein is the way to understanding, a common conscience and idealism and the accomplishment of happiness for the human race.

There is far less difficulty in accomplishing the ideals of humanics than is generally supposed, if we will once learn that intricacies, complexities, non-understandables are *un*-natural. We live too much by the advice of experts; the average expert is a fraud and in his inner conscience he knows it. He is forced to play his part; so we index, formulate, codify and involve the simple facts of life and truths of nature beyond recognition and understanding of the average man, yet that average man in these democratic times, is the man who must decide; for illustration, by a complexity of accounting, on which no two accountants will agree, we submit to voters of less than common school education and of the mentality of a fourteen year old child (this is harsh, but true), the decision whether a five cent fare shall prevail on the largest rapid transit system of the world, whether freight rates shall be increased on the largest railway systems in the world, whether reparations running to such incredible figures, that there is no uniform international system of even expressing them, shall be postponed or modified. This is of course, grotesque and insane. We have not the sense to say to the citizen simply this: would you rather pay a five cent fare and if there is a loss, pay the rest in taxes, or would you rather pay a higher fare; we have not gumption enough to say to the electorate, shall we force railroads to operate at a loss and destroy the value of billions of dollars of securities in which your insurance premiums are invested, or shall we give them a chance to make a profit; or to the peoples of the allied nations, shall we crush the defeated, thrifty, hard working people of 60,000,000 in numbers, to maintain armies and navies, or shall we release them to the point where they can live and work, and all of us have fewer guns and battleships?

To illustrate the extreme simplicity of common consent and action as to two of the deepest relations of life, let us look at religion and law. A ship is wrecked in the Pacific: an English soldier, a Jewish merchant, a Jesuit missionary, a Chinese cook, a Japanese cabin boy, an Indian Parsee, a Scotch sailor and an Arabian courier find themselves sole survivors in an open boat, without oars, food, or water, under a tropical sun: will their prayers be to a common Deity, will their emotions be the same, will there be the same poignant breaking of home ties and the thing called love as the boat capsizes in a shark-infested sea; will there be in whosoever nation's flag the same thrill of patriotism as the Union Jack or the Yellow Dragon or whatever appears at the masthead of that schooner or sampan that looms on the horizon? God Almighty, give us to know the common sense and heartbeats of mankind!

Or turn to the more prosaic field of law, be it George Black, or Georg Schwartz or Georges Noir, who has been cheated of his last thousand dollars, marks or francs, is justice to him a different thing than to the others; is injury a different thing to one than to the others; is proof a different thing to one than to the others? Or, whether it is John White, Johann Weiss or Jacques Blanc, who has been maimed for life by a drunken motorist, is justice, evidence, recompense, different to any one of them? Yet as one of the absurdities of our so-called intelligence, the approach to and probability of justice are as variable as the colors of the flags of their nations. Again this is absurdity and stupidity.

Is it avoidable—so simply?

Let your conscientious priest, pastor, rabbi, rector, minister or other man of the cloth of all the religions of the world sit down together, as human beings, not as commissioners, but in the spirit of The Wayside Inn, and they find a common religion for all mankind.

Let your conscientious lawyer, advocate, avocat, Rechtsanwalt, barrister, et al., sit at Lincoln's Inn or where not in the world, with a bottle of English port, or Russian vodka, to lubricate their pretentious reserve, and in the wee sma' hours they have found common formulas of human justice, uniform methods of proof, and are able to perceive that what is true of human rights in one country is true also when you cross the border.

Many times since the tragic day at Sarajevo one has looked at the news of the world, in the press of his own tongue or a foreign language, and found it extremely difficult to believe that reason rules man's action, and more difficult to believe, that any Higher Power has a rational plan for the progress of its creatures. Some hoped that in the hectic excitement of the first Armistice Day, reason had returned to man, but what shall be said of authentic reports thirteen years later, when thousands die upon the plains of the Eastern world, with the thermometer at 20 degrees below zero, and pariah dogs smelling at the bowels of the wounded, who must pass on because an intelligent human race after four thousand years of recorded "civilization," had not learned the simple code of the jungle, that one does not fight or kill, except to live.

And thirteen years after a decimating struggle in which 8,538,315 of the best humanity had produced, passed into carbon and evaporated water, a feeble, trifling, humorous group of diplomats sits somewhere as oblivious of the heart-throb of the average man, as of the stature of the inhabitant of Mars; sits and talks, then drinks, and goes to bed with a bunch of silk and lace, in an atmosphere of burning human flesh, perfumed by lilies of the field, to overcome the different kinds of rotting fibre on the field of bleak Manchurian plains. Human flesh will rot; it may rot with the lead of a rapid fire gun; it will rot with the perfume of soft pillows and scented baths; it will rot in the transition from Earth to Nirvana—but though it must rot, how immeasurable the distance between the causes of its dissolution! If there be one prayer all mankind can make, whether it bow in Quaker meeting house, Catholic cathedral, Shinto temple or facing the dying sun in Mecca, it is this: "Thou, Supreme Being, give us to see the lives of ourselves and our fellow men and to see them truly, and to see them whole."

Must man forever violate the peace, the beauty the love, the security, the certainty of happiness, here and hereafter, which everyone of us has felt, in those rare moments, when the spirit of the human soul rises above the sordid facts of existence?

Could there but arise a genius of mankind who would mould a new world out of the strange honesty of the Chinese, who will plod a hundred miles on foot to settle a just debt; out of the strange but true perspicacity of the Japanese; out of the weird but un-understandable natural wildness of the Russian intelligence; out of the unfathomable depths, intellectual and psychic, of the Oriental, out of the unconquerable but crude force and fierceness and courage of the Northern tribes of Europe; out of the lost but once existent true culture of the Greeks; lightened by that delicious laughter of the Mediterranean and its Gallic, Hispanic, and Italian peoples tempered all by the objectiveness of that great race which passed through the wilderness under the guidance of a Jehovah and almagamated strength, craft and "the spirituelle" into a conquest of brute forces. Then, indeed, would we find that God, Christ, Mahomet, the Great Spirit, and all the other designations of the soul of man in its reach for infinity and eternity, had met in the simple formula of "Justice each to the other."

There is but one achievement those of us who are for a little time now the controllers of human destiny can hope for or dare to do: so to order the machinery of human existence, that exploitation of man by man shall cease, that economic class distinction shall end, that religious intolerance shall pass, that the use of force shall become obsolete, and the world be prepared for that immeasurably greater soul, who shall teach mankind that labor, that competition, that ambition, that human passion, are but the little gadgets through which this great thing called civilization moves forward to the day, when man shall not live by bread alone, and will find himself but the tuning fork or the antennae through which the spirit of what we are all a part broadcasts, through a physical world, the answer to creation.

There is not a human being who has not at some time felt his own translation into the infinite. It may be a dying Viking as he sails into the sunset with his burning canoe, it may be the

Indian woman who immolates herself upon the flame that consumes her husband's corpse; it may be the depraved and utterly unsafe, in times of peace, convict and habitual convict who dies, under strictest discipline, for his country; it may be the woman of the streets who goes to the electric chair or the guillotine to protect a "lover"; there is no human being so low in the social scale, who, for a cause or an individual, has not at some instant in his or her life, felt within, that strange indefinable thing which relates us intimately to God; there has not yet lived the mortal who, at some moment, perhaps instant, would not give "all I have and am" for some *one,* some *thing,* some *cause;* therein lies the spark of divinity which makes men and women divine.

How silly seem wars, and industrial exploitation, and the childish tricks of a thing called capitalism, when we attain those rare moments, when truth shines upon us.

How stupid seem all the philosophies and theories of mankind. Of course, we can create human happiness and justice; but who shall answer the question, why should we? The nearest to satisfaction is the answer of that credo, which says *Nirvana.* But mere merger in a dominant infinite does not satisfy mankind!

To you and me, simple souls of extremely limited intelligence, that answer will never come. That force which made us live and think and love and fight, may some day answer in the words of a great spirit, perhaps, embodied in human flesh, but until then, believing where we cannot prove, let us produce, as we can, more easily than we imagine, a just and happy world to live in and leave our own and mankind's future to the mercy and wisdom of an All-Knowing Mind.

CONCLUSION

What has previously been written is not Utopian and there is a way of bringing these simple principles into action. Any change in human habit, social organization, political forces, or economic structure, is accomplished in one of two ways, or a mixture of both: either by waiting for nature to take its course or by compulsion. Each method has its disadvantages. To wait may be unnecessarily to prolong human wretchedness and unhappiness; to use compulsion may make bad matters worse. Lincoln's attitude toward the slave question illustrates the point: stripped of school-boy fables, however strongly he felt against human slavery, Lincoln was wise enough to go no further than to check its spread; his clear intention was to wait until the gradual enlightenment of civilization would prove to all men that it was a barbarity which no civilized people would tolerate, much less foster. He saw that by waiting the remedy would come without the suffering later experienced in the Civil War and the post-bellum years. No one will seriously doubt that had there been no Civil War or Emancipation Proclamation, human slavery in this country would long since have died a natural death without the terrific cost in human life and property and destruction from which the South still suffers. Patience was Lincoln's program, but when the safety of the Union was at stake he did not hesitate to use compulsion, as a military measure for the preservation of the Union. In the adoption of Prohibition we can see again the tremendous harm which comes from using compulsion at the wrong time and in not letting nature take its course. On the other hand, we see in the damnable international drug traffic and the opium trade, the tremendous cost in human suffering of being patient and waiting, when compulsion is needed. The public generally adores men of action, but they do not realize that most difficult of action for a true leader is inaction, yet, as we have seen, patience is not always a virtue, it may be cowardice, just as action is not always courage, it may be precocious impatience and a child-like lack of control.

As one views history it is easy to see at what points mankind has moved forward, and one is impressed with the fact of how few have been the decisive careers of men and the decisive events in the advance of civilization; not over a score of either. Man's progress has had thus far but two great turning points: The one when he gained his right to control his own soul and believe as he would, that is, when he gained his religious freedom; the other, when he gained the right to think as he would and to be governed as he deemed or thought, for the time being, he desired, that is, when he gained his political freedom. The third and ultimate turning point which we now approach is the attainment of economic justice.

In a limited sense, one might express the progress of the world in the three segments of Justinian's great precepts.

When men gained their religious freedom, they became able to live honestly with themselves and God.

When men gained their political freedom, theoretically, no man could any longer harm another, because men were equal before the law.

When men shall have gained their economic freedom from the artificial restraints and burdens which man has imposed on man against "the laws of nature and nature's God," each man will have and hold that which is his own.

It must be clear to all who will think for themselves with open minds and free from inherited and class prejudices, that it should be far easier in these enlightened days of mass information and general education, to establish economic justice than it was to accomplish religious liberty in the Middle Ages or political freedom two centuries ago when very few could even read or write and there was no quickly responsive method of communication of ideas to mold and solidify public opinion.

The thing is doable.

The problem is how to bring it to pass: shall we use such compulsion as is necessary or shall we await the slow but certain progress of events.

To use compulsion is bound for a time at least to cause unhappiness, to turn brother's hand against brother, to appear to stir up class hatreds, perhaps to incite violence on the part of the "lunatic fringe" which attend every forward movement or on the part of the Bourbons who resist every advance of civilization, forgetting nothing, learning nothing.

To wait is to stand aside while millions suffer unnecessarily for another generation or two or perhaps a century.

No single mind of however great and sincere a leader has in these days of freedom of religion, of the press and of politics, of complete and rapid means of mass communication and response, the right, and is certainly under no duty to decide this for himself. It is doubtful if any true leader ever went out to reform the world; his neighbors and his countrymen came to him and, because of their confidence in him, hurled him into a cause, greater far than they knew or he sought. There is no authentic record that Christ dreamed of evangelizing the world; his ministry began in seeking to help in the fight against hypocrisy, injustice and misery he found around his people, a very small and insignificant people even in the small known world of those days. Certainly, Luther had not the remotest idea of starting the Reformation or turning the course of history; until George Washington took his part with his fellow-citizens he had not the remotest idea of becoming the father of a country, nor did Lincoln feel any call to end human slavery. Apparently the only people who know in advance that they are on a God-ordered mission and have discussed it with Him in all details, are clergymen and professional reformers who manage as well to get themselves attached to a payroll so that whether the great cause to which they were called gets on or not, they are sure to eat and suffer no physical privation.

There is very definite evidence in history that no truly great leader, and they have been very few, had any real conception of what he or she was doing for their own people or country, much less for civilization. Only phrasemakers know they are making the world safe for humanity. There is also very clear evidence in history, that just as poets and composers do not sense the beauty, human depths and universal truths of their own compositions, so great leaders have not realized the significance of their own accomplishments, and it seems entirely safe to say that in the terrific crises of every great movement, none of the men and women to whom we owe all in the accomplishments of civilization, were sure they were right. That has been the tragic loneliness and awful test of the great leaders of the past; Christ on the Cross: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me; Washington on his knees in the snow at Valley Forge; Lincoln looking out of the White House window with those great sad eyes of his for the arrival of the newsman.

The accomplishment of democracy and the achievements of man's inventive and mechanical genius have lessened, if not removed, from future leaders the awful responsibility of making alone and without the guidance of the opinions of their fellowmen, decisions which may for the accomplishment of a greater end, necessarily entail intermediate suffering and unhappiness. Alexander Hamilton distrusted democracy and with his egotistical self-assuredness asserted that wisdom does not consist in the counting of noses; another of those damnable phrases to coin which is a temptation for every brilliant mind; phrases which are never all true, or all false, and hence that highly dangerous thing, a half truth. Democracy, so called, has succeeded far beyond what could reasonably have been expected of it, in a short history of less than two hundred years, for no real democracy ever existed prior to the American Revolution. In things political, economic and social, wisdom does consist in the counting of noses, if when the noses are counted there is present, fair and truthful information and absent, demagogic, class and religious interference. The plebiscite and referendum are sound principles even though extremists cause their disrepute by touting them as panaceas.

It follows then that if the simple ideas and practical ideals we have been considering are worth putting in action, since it is entirely possible to do so in a very brief time by very simple and definite means without brutal compulsion, they await only the mandate of the great majority. Humanity must find its own salvation and has the means within its power if the propositions here laid down are sound.

The Declaration of Independence was prepared because our forefathers had, to use their own words: "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind"—to prove their case they first "let facts be submitted to a candid world" and to their cause they "pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor."

In this spirit the contents of this work are given to those who will read, and if they are found to be sound in principle as the outline of a new economic order, there will follow a briefer and more concrete work entitled "Justism"—to present the means and method of accomplishment and the simple constitution of that new order wherein each man shall live for the first time in history under a system of economic justice: for the time being let the following suffice:

JUSTISM

Justism stands for three simple but far reaching propositions: (1) that private monopoly of land, water, air and natural resources shall cease, and that private ownership therein shall be limited to the use and enjoyment thereof on payment of just compensation therefor to the State for the benefit of all and in place of all other taxes of every kind and nature; (2) that the handing down of private fortunes from one generation to another shall cease, and the right of inheritance be limited to the passing by will, descent or distribution from blood relatives and husband or wife, of the family homestead and sufficient property to assure dependents and descendants of the first generation of the reasonable needs for sustenance, education and culture, if events beyond their control render them unable to take care of their own necessities; (3) that corporate monopolies of capital, commerce, trade and business shall cease and the right to organize and operate corporations shall be limited to those formed by permission of the state, to operate under state supervision and to continue to enjoy such special privileges only as long as they are needful in the public interests and subject to fixed limitations on their distributable profits.

Justism is not concerned in forms of government, in morals, ethics, religion, charity or philanthropy and shuns interference with the private lives of the people except as it establishes a basis of economic justice which prevents any individual or group of individuals, by use of legal artifices or unfair means, from taking advantage of or exploiting for profit any other individual or group of individuals. It is not a social theory or a political movement, will not resort to force or permit class hatred to be used to advance its cause, but submits itself to the test of reason and the public sense of justice. It imposes no barrier or limitation to achievement or accumulation of wealth; it repudiates the doctrine that men are of equal capacity and have the right to share what others earn. It does not interest itself in nationalism or internationalism beyond demanding true patriotism. It accepts competition between men and nations as a natural necessity and unchangeable instinct of the race but commands that such competition shall be fair, honest and just.

Justism is not born of this hour of world calamity, nor does it seek to rise out of the ashes of a burnt out capitalism; or to call to its standards those who come only because it offers something new and maybe better. That it is new is not an argument for it; it must come only with the conviction that it is better. Its author and advocate would have given much had it been possible to offer it to a calm and normal people, for it seeks not to wax powerful on the discontent of tortured and bleeding humanity. Moreover, this is not the time to seek to change the economic structure of the world; we should wait until the heart of the world beats strong again before we seek to lift it out of its infested marshes to the heights where it can see the dawn of humanity's new day. God grant that it may be possible to wait but Justism shall not let civilization die in the slough of despond. And if it be that it must come on blind faith of its intrinsic truth, Justism is not without its mandates to resist and overcome the chaos of bewildered, hungry, frightened masses of men and women.

If there is not time to wait, which God forbid, Justism proposes to meet the fierce emergencies of such a crisis by concrete measures, instantly available under the present economic and political system and let its own program wait until the lives and spirits of our twenty-five million destitute men and women and children have been saved from hardship, starvation and despair.

Those measures are these: We shall be Americans first and care for our own. We shall keep out of the affairs of other nations for the present, except to the extent we are now unhappily involved; but when it is necessary to act we shall not only express our views, but enforce them. We are engaged in a terrific struggle against the destruction of whole sections of our people, particularly the so-called white collar class. The first demand upon us is that we shall keep body and soul together of every one of our citizens. In times of plague, of calamity, of invasion, nothing is sacred except the defense and protection of the people. Every mother's son of fighting age is subject to draft, when the foe is at the gate. The grimmest of all foes stalks in our midst, unemployment and starvation. There is but one defense, jobs and a living wage. Capitalism has constructed a world in which jobs and wages are dependent solely upon capital. We shall therefore draft capital. Not by ruthless measures inspired by class hatred and not beyond the minimum needs of the emergency. We shall draft it on the same basis as a mother's son is drafted, for service during the crisis when the fate of our people hangs in the balance; and when that crisis is past we shall return it, as we muster out that mother's son when the war is over. If it cannot be returned in full, or if it cannot be returned at all, we shall remember that many a mother's son did not come back from fighting a foreign war to make the world safe for democracy; and so if dollars are used up and do not come back, it will be the price of making America safe for those who made America in the toil of their backs and the sweat of their brows.

That drafted capital we shall use not to retire bonds or reduce the treasury debt or even to balance the national budget. It will be dedicated as a soldier's life is dedicated to the defense of the country; it shall be a sacred fund and the man of high or low estate who tampers with it for political or other ends or seeks to capitalize it for selfish gain shall be, and be condemned to the punishment of, a traitor, and tried, not by the dilatory procedure of a discredited criminal law, but by the direct means of court martial, while the emergency continues.

With that fund in sacred trust, to every unemployed man or woman of the country, we shall say, there is a place for you to work not for your sustenance alone, but enough in monetary compensation to care for those dependent on you who cannot work. And we shall prohibit bread lines and make the soul-sinking business of public charity to feed the unemployed a stench in the nostrils of those who advocate it.

There will be no dole, and no one who can work and will not work shall eat at public or charitable expense.

There will be no sentimental softness for the indolent or the loafers, or those who live by stirring discontent, or who talk, or who threaten violence. There will be no tolerance of discussion of social theories or political doctrines until the present danger is permanently behind, and we breathe again the pure air of national self-respect and confidence.

There will be no unemployed but there will be as well, no parasites. We shall cease to talk of unemployment relief and instead we shall talk of the *national service.* Until private industry regains its courage and goes forward, the army of the national service, which ends the army of unemployed, will be engaged in public works, and we shall come out of our present trouble with eight million men and women in better health, with a truer love of country and a firmer confidence in themselves; and with their dependents able to look the world in the eye with a self-respect that dies with the dole and is forever broken by living upon charity. We shall come out of this thing with great public works accomplished and a country nobler in aspect as well as spirit. We shall come out of this thing with every dollar spent returned tenfold in imponderable benefits and probably with every dollar drafted returned in time to those who gave it up. We shall come out of this thing stronger because we have kept the essential faith of democracy, that the safety of the people is the supreme law.

The mechanics of this are so simple that in sixty days there will be no unemployment and the spectre of destitution and starvation for twenty-five millions of our people will have disappeared. Of its legality there is not the shadow of a doubt. In its financial technique, no novelty or difficulties exist in the ultimate allocation of the cost of public works and construction, between the Federal government and the states or political subdivisions thereof, as was demonstrated under the supervision of the present author fifteen years ago on behalf of one of the important governmental war agencies.

The suggestion of this *national service* program is a departure from the purposes and philosophy of this work, called forth by what the author hopes may prove a diminishing emergency, in order, on the one hand, that the blind fear of destruction spreading among the masses shall be allayed by the conscious realization, that, if worse comes to worse, there is a safe, certain and immediate way out of any feared debacle of our great country; and, on the other hand, that the controlling powers of the capitalistic system shall come to know that this is the least subversive alternative they may expect, if capitalism does not do what it is yet amply able to do, namely, sincerely to direct its resources to a revival of industry, a resuscitation of commerce and the termination of mass unemployment.

In times of stress, America becomes a nation and in truth the *United* States. In times of crisis, every heart yearns for strength in leadership however centralized and every heart breaks over weakness in high places.

In closing this brief for the present right of man to happiness, it is hoped that it will not be found merely another volume, added to the many which are the vogue of the moment in seeking to substitute man-made plans for the Eternal Plan of God Almighty in the Progress of Humanity. The place to begin planning is in our own lives and in our own homes. How rare is the man or woman who has the courage, facing the world we live in, to dare to plan his or her own life or even to dream of accomplishment? How few, in all human history, are those who at the end of life have done the things or been the kind of men and women they projected at the break of dawn in their careers?

What has been here written seeks only to free ourselves and our fellowmen and future generations from the impediments to decency and justice, which stupid human greed have built as barriers to the wisdom, equity and grace of the Creator.

Increasingly apparent to the nobler minds and souls of the capitalistic regime is the fallacy of philanthropy applied to the consequences of an unjust economic system. Indeed this realization appears to have come to some with tragic force, as they view the futility of great and costly efforts through charitable foundations, employees' stock distribution, bonus plans, staggered work periods, various forms of insurance, profit-sharing schemes and pension systems to bandage the poisoned wounds of humanity caused by the thrusts and slashes of ruthless and predatory capitalism. We hear repeatedly, almost daily, from the very chambers of the palaces of capitalism, the assertion that there must be found a more equitable distribution of the wealth in this great country. From the legislative halls of the ruling powers are echoed the admission that the present system of taxation has failed and the amazing and stupid averment that as the alternative to bankruptcy, government must be curtailed in its necessary functions or the masses stirred to dangerous heat by nuisance levies and sales taxes on their necessities of life. To the radical mind, all this suggests wrecking "the sorry scheme of things entire." To the progressive but conservative mind come timid and vague reflections upon a wiser distribution of wealth. Both are wrong. We may have to draft capital in our emergency, rather than add insufferable burdens of taxation: but we will never confiscate capital. There must be a just distribution of wealth in this great country but not accomplished by devices for the redistribution of present acquired wealth; rather by preventing the repetition of its unjust accumulation. We shall make men just before they are asked to be generous.

We shall not rectify the sempiternal wrongs of the great majority through diluting capitalistic cruelty by socialistic sentiment or replacing it with communistic theory.

We shall substitute for an obsolete property law of land monopoly, equal access for all mankind to natural resources; we shall, in the stead of an artificial and indefensible law of inheritance, put universal uniformity of opportunity at birth; and we shall make the corporate creature our serf and not our master.

When we, of the great majority, are convinced that these things should be done, we will do them with ease, directness and dispatch, not by foolish revolutions, but through ordinary legislative action, as simply as one raises the shade of a darkened room and opens the window, to let in God's air and sunshine. Then, His eternal laws, unimpeded by man's devices, will work out a just distribution of health, wealth and happiness for His creatures, without our being called upon to invent any new economic schemes, legal fictions, governmental "isms" or social theories.

POSTSCRIPT.

There is but a *single* cause of fear in this dark hour of world history. There are a *hundred* reasons to believe that humanity halts for a time only to wait the dawn of true and substantial happiness.

We have the certain means to conquer heat and cold, sickness and starvation, darkness and distance, ignorance and poverty, and to satisfy the longing of the spirit for culture and the soul for God. What, then, is there to fear?

The stupidity of the masses, the stupidity of the classes.

The masses have four thousand years of stupidity behind them. Rulers since the beginning of time, they have groveled in serfdom.

The classes have four hundred years of stupidity behind them; endowed with the opportunities for education and intelligence, they have been content to learn nothing and to forget nothing.

What will the answer of our day be: the repetition of ancient stupidities?

Now that it has penetrated the great majority, that ever they have been the *regent masses,* are we to witness the crowning stupidity of wrecking all that four thousand years of struggle have brought in a mad pursuit of the *illusion* of socialism or the *delusion* of communism?

Now that capitalism perceives and admits its failures, are we to witness social disturbances before it gives up the stupid fictions of the monopoly of land and natural resources, unlimited inheritance and corporate absolutism?

Be it said to the eternal glory of our great country, that neither thing has happened and there are convincing indications that neither thing will happen! But either thing can happen if we try to *lie* our way out of our present difficulties.

There is a noble patience in the stolid, understanding of our people, with a quarter of their number facing destitution.

There is a fine frankness in the admission of capitalism's undisputed leader that "we have reached a point where the aid of governments or the gifts of individuals, no matter how generous, are insufficient to meet the conditions which have come upon us. So we must all do our bit."

But in politics we still hear the cant of false pride and insincere and unattainable promises, concealing partisan selfishness: one political party, purporting to *view with pride* its accomplishments under the leadership of the one man in America, who has been continuously in national office for twelve years, specially and generally charged with the welfare of the country, its commerce, industry and prosperity; and the other party pretending *to point with fear* to the dangers for the country of not putting its candidates in control of the destinies of the nation, for, at least, the next four years. The while, a Roman holiday must be faced in the form of a national election: a situation as absurd under the conditions, as for Lincoln to have postponed Grant's appointment until the next Congressional election, or for a Red Cross relief expedition into the flooded valley of the Mississippi to be delayed until the nurses' uniforms arrived. It is probably utterly visionary even to dream of a joint meeting of the Republican and Democratic National Committees for the purpose of selecting at once the best qualified men, one or the other from either party, for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of this country during the next four years; thus putting the national election behind us, here and now, for all practical purposes, and getting about the business of saving the country from further disaster. It is still more fantastic that they should forthwith agree on a coalition cabinet for the period of the present emergency; and absurd, beyond conception in the mentality of professional politics, to consent now that no sitting member of the Congress shall be opposed at the next election, because however great or small the present members may be they have, at least, some knowledge, learned at public expense, of the problems of statesmanship in this crisis.

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